



THE UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND
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**Dimensions of Gender: Women's Careers in the Australian
Architecture Profession**

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Abstract

Statistics on women in the architecture profession in Australia tell a story of women having truncated careers, limited longevity in the profession, and relative invisibility, despite significant and longstanding contributions. While Dana Cuff argues that the career path for all architects is fraught with uncertainty, gender appears to figure powerfully in making a career in architecture even more difficult for women.¹ The situation is not well understood, since previous research has tended to draw on simple statistical counts, surveys, and anecdotal reportage—methods that are not necessarily subtle enough to investigate gendered practices in depth. However, research from other fields, particularly those investigating gender and the professions more broadly, reveals that architecture, while perhaps an extreme case, is not alone in its patterns of women's participation. The fact that this has been rarely drawn upon within the field of architecture points to a significant gap in current knowledge regarding the impact of gender in the profession. Gaining a deeper understanding of this situation was a major impetus behind the Australian Research Council–funded Linkage Project: “Equity and Diversity in the Australian Architecture Profession: Women, Work and Leadership (2011–2014),” of which this dissertation forms a discrete part.

This thesis contributes to knowledge by examining the complexity of gender in the Australian architecture profession through two main strategies, combining quantitative and qualitative methods in a complementary manner. The first strategy involves depicting the macro-scale patterns of women's participation in the profession in Australia more comprehensively than has been done before, by developing an analysis from a wider range of statistical data than are usually sourced. It finds that, although women are present in greater numbers than usually cited, the growth of women's participation is markedly slower than previously predicted, at a rate that lags behind other professions, and that is distorted by certain peculiarities in the architecture profession. This quantitative analysis strengthens the case that there are gendering processes shaping architectural careers, and indicates those points at which women tend to disappear over the course of a career in architecture.

Building on the first research strategy, the second and larger part of the dissertation mobilises methods rarely deployed to investigate gender in architecture in Australia; specifically, interviews and workplace observation. Drawing upon seventy interviews held in three large commercial architecture practices, and observation in offices in Sydney and Brisbane, the dissertation seeks to illuminate the social construction of gender in the Australian architecture profession. It uses an

¹ Dana Cuff, *Architecture: The Story of Practice* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), 137.

analytical framework developed by Joan Acker and others to investigate how gender silently structures the profession forming a gendered substructure. In using this framework to analyse the experiences of both women and men working in architecture, the dissertation is able to highlight the priorities, practices, and ideologies that generate gender inequities in the contemporary architecture profession. It reveals the degree to which a series of taken-for-granted structural and cultural conditions and interactions permit and reproduce gender inequity in career advancement in architecture.

Declaration by author

This thesis is composed of my original work, and contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference has been made in the text. I have clearly stated the contribution by others to jointly-authored works that I have included in my thesis.

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Matthewson, Gill. “‘Nothing Else Will Do’: The Call for Gender Equality in Architecture in Britain.” *Architectural Theory Review* 17, no. 2–3 (2012): 245–59, doi:10.1080/13264826.2012.730172.

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Architecture, profession, women, careers, gendered substructure.

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List of Illustrations

All photographs were taken as part of the visual research component of the larger “Equity and Diversity” Linkage project. Persons featured in these photographs worked for the partner architecture firms in 2012, but their appearance as illustrations should not be taken as an indication that they were interviewed for this dissertation—the two components of the research were quite separate.

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List of Abbreviations Used in the Thesis

AACA:	Architects Accreditation Council of Australia
ABS:	Australian Bureau of Statistics
AIA:	Australian Institute of Architects (formerly RAIA)
ASA:	Architecture Schools of Australasia (handbooks)
BIM:	Building Information Management (software)
CAD:	Computer Aided Design (computer software for architectural drawing)
Census:	Australian Bureau of Statistics Census of Population and Housing
NSW:	New South Wales
NZIA:	New Zealand Institute of Architects
RAIA:	Royal Australian Institute of Architects
RIBA:	Royal Institute of British Architects

Preface

Grievances and the muted anger they generate are I think a strong motivating force with staying power [...] The grievances and anger I have in mind here are the sort that arise from a deep and personal sense that things aren't as they should be [...] The question then is why is this so and what if anything might be done to rectify the situation.

John Van Maanen¹

Three years after I graduated from architecture, I was stunned by the realisation that the profession I had entered was not the way I thought it would be, nor ought to be—I was furious. I worked for a women-only practice and learned how to build. I travelled, worked for one of the largest architectural practices in Europe, and later a small feminist one in London. But, when faced with a choice between continuing practice and teaching, I chose teaching. I had lost faith in architecture but still believed in the education behind it. With this move, I became one of the many women who leave architecture without leaving architecture. I would still call myself an architect, but would not feature in any architectural headcount.

Over the years, I have tried to understand my frustration with architecture, one that appears to be shared with many other women. I was active in a 'women in architecture' group, I taught women-only studio projects, and my research Master's thesis explored the professional, symbolic, and intellectual presence of three women involved the conception, realisation, and interpretation of the iconic Barcelona Pavilion.² This latter work I saw retrospectively as a search for my identity in architecture. Ten years after completing my Master's, my frustration rose again when it seemed to me the next generation of women were again asking "where are the women in architecture?" This triggered another flurry of research.³ And yet, like the multi-headed Hydra, answers seemed to breed more questions.

¹ John Van Maanen, "You Gotta Have a Grievance: Locating Heartbreak in Ethnography," *Journal of Management Inquiry* 19, no. 4 (2010): 338.

² Gill Matthewson, "Sex, Lies and the Barcelona Pavilion" (MA thesis, University of East London, 1994).

³ Gill Matthewson, "Take It to the Limit: Women as Breach in Architecture," in *Limits: The Twenty-First Annual Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand*, ed. Harriet Edquist and Hélène Frichot (Melbourne: SAHANZ, 2004). Gill Matthewson, "Sketching in the Margins," in *Exquisite Apart: 100 Years of Architecture in New Zealand*, ed. Charles Walker and New Zealand Institute of Architects (Auckland: Balasoglou Books, 2005). Gill Matthewson, "You Have No Idea: Women in Architecture in the Eighties" (Paper presented at the "... Ponderously Pedantic Pediments Prevail ... Good, Clean Fun in a Bad, Dirty World" New Zealand Architecture in the 1980s Symposium, Wellington, 2009).

This dissertation might then be regarded as my latest attempt to explore what is frustrating women in architecture and what might be done about it. This time, however, I have not been alone. The dissertation has been completed through the auspices of, and funded by, the Australian Research Council Linkage Project: “Equity and Diversity in the Australian Architecture Profession: Women, Work and Leadership (2011–2014).”⁴ In this project, I joined with other women who shared my questions and vexation. Important work was completed in the 1980s and 1990s, but, by the second decade of the twenty-first century, it seemed deeply unfashionable to be investigating gender in architecture—that was all “so last century!” However, by the end of the project, the Australian team was surfing a wave that we had helped to create, particularly through the launch of the project’s website *Parlour* in 2012. Across the English-speaking world, there are now multiple groups, website resources, commentaries, surveys, and petitions with a similar focus on highlighting and understanding the gender inequities of architecture.

Although my personal experiences have given this dissertation momentum, it is the research undertaken to gather the numbers, stories, and experiences of the architects who participated in the study that have formed the project and its conclusions.

⁴ Naomi Stead, Julie Willis, Sandra Kaji-O’Grady, Gillian Whitehouse, Susan Savage, Justine Clark, Karen Burns, and Amanda Roan, “Equity and Diversity in the Australian Architecture Profession: Women, Work, and Leadership (2011–2014)” (Australian Research Council Linkage Project LP100200107, 2010).

Chapter 1 – Introduction: Women in Architecture in Australia

The absence of women from the profession of architecture remains, despite the various theories, very difficult to explain and very slow to change.

Francesca Hughes¹

The fact that women tend to leave the architecture profession and are not visible at influential levels has been long observed in scholarly literature and professional media accounts, both within and outside Australia. The object of this dissertation is the situation for women working in architecture in Australia. It seeks to explore this situation by investigating the multiple facets of gender affecting and impacting women and their careers in the architecture profession—hence its title ‘dimensions of gender.’ Specifically, the title draws on two different meanings of the word ‘dimension.’

First, dimension means measurement, and so quantitative data are investigated to establish in detail the macro-scale patterns of women’s participation in the Australian profession. A deeper analysis of a wider range of statistical data than are usually sourced enables a more nuanced assessment of women’s participation than has been available to date. The dissertation thus reveals a more complicated picture than that portrayed by the commonly cited statistics that depict the sizeable gap between the percentage of women studying and those practicing architecture. It reveals that while this gap may not be as dramatic as often claimed, women are nonetheless clearly compromised in their advancement in architecture. This quantitative analysis strengthens the case that gender impacts differentially in the formation of architectural careers. However, while the statistical data enable a sketch of broad patterns, they cannot illuminate the nuances of the forces and decisions that lead to women’s overall reduced presence in Australian architecture, especially at senior levels. Rosabeth Kanter insists that numbers cannot and do not stand alone, and must be analysed along with opportunity and power, which, together, interact to affect women’s ability to survive and thrive.² It matters *how* as well as *how many* women are participating.

Second, dimension means the spatial extent of something, in this case of a structure. The thesis argues that the architecture profession is a social structure, and consequently has what Joan Acker

¹ Francesca Hughes, *The Architect: Reconstructing Her Practice* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1996), x.

² Rosabeth Moss Kanter, *Men and Women of the Corporation*, 2nd ed. (New York: Basic Books, 1993), 261.

calls a gendered substructure.³ The dissertation investigates the dimensions of that structure, using interview and workplace observation methods, because these have an ability to explore the connection between people as individuals and as groups, and the complex and dynamic social contexts within which they operate.⁴ The experiences and observations of the seventy architects (both women and men) who were informants to this study reveal the degree to which a series of taken-for-granted conditions, practices, and interactions in the profession permit gender inequality processes that hinder women's career advancement—but are seldom acknowledged. This type of qualitative research has rarely been deployed to investigate gender in architecture in Australia nor, to my knowledge, has Acker's framework of gendered substructure been utilised to analyse the gender dynamics of the architecture profession.⁵

The complementary use of quantitative and qualitative methods in the dissertation is a means to tackle the complexity and scope of gender in the architecture profession in Australia. By studying the local and specific experiences of individuals in the profession, along with more general patterns of participation, the dissertation is able to draw larger conclusions. The dissertation extends previous research with this dual approach.

This first chapter is an introductory one that establishes common ideas about women's participation in architecture in Australia. It is followed by a quantitative statistical overview that challenges some of these received ideas and confirms others, which is then complexified in a literature review chapter that establishes contexts for a career in architecture from a reading of a broad literature on careers, professions, architecture, gender, and work. A methodological chapter then introduces the main body of the thesis, which is a qualitative study. Four subsequent chapters each address a cohort of architectural workers at increasing increments of time in the profession. These four cohort chapters are followed by an integrating analysis chapter, and finally, a conclusion.

Background to the Study

The point is there's lots of women [in architecture school] and there's fewer later on... Yeah, everyone knows that!

Male interviewee in this study

³ Joan Acker, "Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations," *Gender & Society* 4, no. 2 (1990); Joan Acker, "Gendering Organizational Theory," in *Gendering Organizational Analysis*, ed. Albert Mills and Peta Tancred (Newbury Park, CA: SAGE Publications, 1992).

⁴ Leslie McCall, "The Complexity of Intersectionality," *Signs* 30, no. 3 (2005): 1782.

⁵ Adams and Tancred refer to Acker in their study of women in architecture in Canada, but do not directly use the framework; Annmarie Adams and Peta Tancred, *Designing Women: Gender and the Architectural Profession* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 8, 123.

This section discusses the persistent observation that women seem to ‘disappear’ from, and/or are invisible in, the architecture profession in Australia, and introduces a number of studies that have previously explored this issue. Julie Willis records a sharp increase in the number of women studying the ‘non-traditional’ profession of architecture in the 1980s.⁶ The absence of women in all professions was initially attributed to so few having qualified, and therefore, it would simply be a matter of waiting for them to flow along the ‘long pipeline’; that is, there would be a time lag.⁷ In the 1990s, Rob Cowdroy explained that, in architecture the “*apparent* disappearance of women after graduation is a result of inevitable time delays between entry into a course and graduation, and graduation and registration.”⁸ Willis adds that architects have relatively long professional careers, which would result in a slow rate of change in the gender profile of registered architects.⁹ Both estimated that women would reach approximately 40% of registered architects in Australia before 2020.¹⁰ But, in 2012, Willis conceded that the numbers were tracking well below this prediction.¹¹ While by the twenty-first century, the time-lag explanation appeared to apply to other formerly male-dominated professions in Australia, it was not so for architecture.

Globally, research into women in architecture burgeoned with the increasing numbers of women studying and experiencing the discipline. This is now a large research field and ranges from uncovering the ‘lost’ history of women’s involvement in architecture to women’s experiences of space and the built environment; from revaluing and investigating spaces deemed trivial because of their association with women to analyses that demonstrate how space and architecture physically reinforce gender divisions; from theories challenging the dominant and dominating symbols of architecture to investigations into domesticity and readings of the body in architecture; from demographic analyses and reports of women’s participation to alternative or feminist methods of critique and practice.¹² However, as Hughes observes above, and Willis concedes for Australia, despite this work, the profession changes very slowly.

⁶ Julie Willis, “Aptitude and Capacity: Published Views of the Australian Woman Architect,” *Architectural Theory Review* 17, no. 2–3 (2012): 327. In New Zealand and the US, the move was earlier. In the former, women comprised 33% of the first-year students of architecture in 1976. In the US in 1970, women made up approximately 7–8% of graduates of architecture; by 1979, that figure was 27%. Gill Matthewson, “Take It to the Limit: Women as Breach in Architecture,” in *Limits: The Twenty-First Annual Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand*, ed. Harriet Edquist and Hélène Frichot (Melbourne: SAHANZ, 2004), 320; Garry Stevens, “Women in Architecture 2,” *Dr Garry’s Place*, accessed February 2013, <http://www.archsoc.com/kcas/ArchWomen2.html>.

⁷ Virginia Valian, “Beyond Gender Schemas: Improving the Advancement of Women in Academia,” *Hypatia* 20, no. 3 (2005): 206.

⁸ Rob Cowdroy, ed. *Architects’ Transition from Graduation to Registration* (Sydney: The Board of Architects of NSW, 1995), 8, original emphasis.

⁹ Julie Willis, *A Statistical Survey of Registered Women Architects in Australia* (Adelaide: University of South Australia, 1997), 10.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 11; Cowdroy, ed. *Architects’ Transition from Graduation to Registration*, 9.

¹¹ Willis, “Aptitude and Capacity,” 328.

¹² For bibliographies and reviews of some of this work, see Sherry Ahrentzen, “The F Word in Architecture: Feminist Analyses in/of/for Architecture,” in *Reconstructing Architecture: Critical Discourses and Social Practices*, ed. Thomas A. Dutton and Lian Hurst Mann (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1996); Jane Rendell, Barbara Penner, and Iain Borden, *Gender Space*

The work of this dissertation is informed by this wide field, but concentrates on what Sherry Ahrentzen (following Pat Morton) calls the social orientation of the field.¹³ It is concerned with women's experiences of the profession, and understanding the practices and processes that might render a career in architecture difficult for them. While there is work on this subject internationally, the dissertation focuses on Australia. It builds on earlier work into women's participation in the Australian profession; notably, reports sponsored by the Royal Australian Institute of Architecture (RAIA—in 2008 the 'Royal' was dropped forming AIA¹⁴) and scholarly work, particularly that by Willis and Bronwyn Hanna. These will now be discussed.

Studies on Women in Architecture in Australia

The first report to specifically focus on women in the profession was produced by the RAIA in conjunction with the Human Rights Commission in 1986.¹⁵ It drew on a series of surveys of the profession, female architects, and students, and reported different patterns between women and men with regard to income levels, employment, and expectations around childcare.¹⁶ The report concluded that, although overt or blatant discrimination was not evident, there were problematic subtle, pervasive, and less visible patterns of difference in the experiences of women and men in the profession.¹⁷ Recommendations addressed aspects of the education of architects (harassment, discrimination, and forms of discouragement for women students), focussed careers advice, and employment practices.¹⁸

Five years later, the RAIA's Committee on the State of Women in Architecture filed a report based also on surveys, but which included statistics from schools of architecture and submissions from the Committee's working party.¹⁹ This report recorded that while many women had graduated from architecture degrees, a high proportion was electing to not work in the profession, nor to register or to join the RAIA. The Committee identified particular features of the traditional profession that discouraged both women and men, including long, inflexible, and irregular hours, and low pay. For

Architecture: An Interdisciplinary Introduction (New York: Routledge, 2000); Sherry Ahrentzen, "The Space between the Studs: Feminism and Architecture," *Signs* 29, no. 1 (2003); Karen Burns, "A Girl's Own Adventure: Gender in the Contemporary Architectural Theory Anthology," *Journal of Architectural Education* 65, no. 2 (2012).

¹³ Ahrentzen, "The Space between the Studs," 185.

¹⁴ Without the 'Royal' the Australian Institute of Architects brands itself as "the Institute," rather than AIA to reduce confusion with the American Institute of Architects, which had prior claim to the AIA abbreviation. However, for this thesis I will use the AIA abbreviation.

¹⁵ Russell Darroch and John Dean, *Women in the Architectural Profession: Report to the Human Rights Commission* (Royal Australian Institute of Architects, 1986), http://archiparlour.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/Women-in-the-architectural-profession-1986_sml.pdf.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 34.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 14, 36.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 38.

¹⁹ AIA, *Towards a More Egalitarian Profession: Findings of the Royal Australian Institute of Architects Committee on the State of Women in Architecture* (Royal Australian Institute of Architects, 1991), <http://www.archiparlour.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/RAIA-1991-Towards-a-More-Egalitarian-Profession.pdf>. Unpaginated.

women, there were additional discouragements, including lack of female mentors and role models, restrictions on work leading to constrained experience and consequent career advancement, lack of acknowledgement of female creative responses, and little support for those with family commitments.²⁰ They concluded that gender biases in the profession were not changing fast enough to attract and maintain the increasing numbers of women graduates. Like the 1986 report, recommendations revolved around careers advice, education (addressing the lack of female staff and role models), and practice (specifically, what the RAIA could do to accommodate those not working in traditional ways).

In 2005, Paula Whitman published the results of a study into women's career progression in the architecture profession in Australia.²¹ She reported that although women made up 43% of architectural graduates, they comprised only 14% of the profession, and a sparse 1% of company directors.²² Statistics such as these are often taken as general indicators of equity—the ability of each gender to pursue a career in that occupation. Architecture's apparent paucity of women, in contrast to their abundance in the architecture schools, confirmed to Whitman that the concept of time lag could not wholly account for the poor representation of women in the profession. The study gathered attitudes to, and experiences of, women developing a career in architecture and aimed to identify “the barriers and enabling factors that impact on and affect women's attainment of senior positions.”²³ The study comprised mainly of a survey, supplemented by a small number of interviews and focus groups.

The Whitman report further found that female research participants were not happy with their levels of pay, career progress, and future prospects, but expressed high levels of satisfaction with their current jobs. Some respondents had *chosen* not to pursue high levels of seniority, and a significant number of them had declined promotion at some time in their career.²⁴ In part, this was due to women suspecting that such advancement would actually remove them from the particular work they enjoyed, and, in part, due to a desire to achieve balance in their lives. In addition, the women

²⁰ In 2003, a UK research study found similar factors accumulated to cause women to leave the profession; Ann de Graft-Johnson, Sandra Manley, and Clara Greed, *Why Do Women Leave Architecture?* (Bristol: Royal Institute of British Architects, University of West England, 2003), www.riba.org/fileLibrary/pdf/WWLAFinalreportJune03.pdf. The study identified fifteen factors in all, two-thirds of which were gender-based, discussed in Gill Matthewson, Naomi Stead, and Karen Burns, “Women and Leadership in the Australian Architecture Profession: Prelude to a Research Project,” in *Seizing the Initiative: Australian Women Leaders in Politics, Workplaces and Communities*, ed. Rosemary Francis, Patricia Grimshaw, and Ann Standish (Parkville, Vic: eScholarship Research Centre, The University of Melbourne, 2012), 257. A Canadian study also noted similar issues affecting the retention of women in the profession there; Eva Matsuzaki, Patricia Gibb, and Imbi Harding, *Consultations & Roundtables on Women in Architecture in Canada* (Vancouver: Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, 2003), 17–18, http://www.raic.org/resources_archives/research/womeninarch_e.pdf.

²¹ Paula Whitman, *Going Places: The Career Progression of Women in the Architectural Profession* (Brisbane: Queensland University of Technology, 2005). Research supported by the RAIA and QUT.

²² *Ibid.*, 7, 31. The company directors' figure was for Queensland, and Whitman suggests the national figure would be similar.

²³ *Ibid.*, 7.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 10.

reported having a different value system to the profession's in terms of rewards and measures of success. While family/work balance and poor remuneration were still an issue for women in the profession (as recorded in earlier reports), there is a sense in the research findings that the women were negotiating their careers in their own way, and happy with their own measures of success. Nonetheless, Whitman notes that women "saying that they are getting what they want [might suggest] that what they want is not very much."²⁵

Contextualising Whitman's findings, particularly those around measures of success for women in the profession—as well as questioning their assumed absence—is the work of Willis and Hanna. In their book *Women Architects in Australia 1900–1950*, they detail not an absence of women in the profession over that period, but a substantial presence that was simply not recognised or acknowledged.²⁶ They attribute this "misrecognition" to a number of factors.²⁷ First, these early women often worked in small-scale practices, which tended to restrict the type of work they could do to 'less-notable' commissions. The prevalence of this type of practice was sometimes to accommodate families, and sometimes a response to limited opportunities in larger practices due to direct and indirect discrimination. Second, Willis and Hanna argue that there is a strong tendency in architectural media and by historians to attribute a building to an individual architect, rather than acknowledge the collaborative teamwork involved in the design and realisation of an architectural project.²⁸ This individual architect was more likely to be male. Finally, there is a further tendency by architectural historians and critics to discuss architecture in isolation from its cultural context. Such an approach is unable to consider the complexity of the production of architecture and, Willis and Hanna argue, presents a constrained view of architecture that excludes most women architects, and many men, from the historical record "by default."²⁹ The 'disappearance' of women from the profession and their low visibility at influential levels is complex and entails multiple dimensions.

In her report, Whitman suggested that men should also be surveyed.³⁰ This was undertaken in 2007 by the RAlA, and the subsequent report laid strong emphasis on a high level of similarity between men and women.³¹ The reasons posited by Whitman for women's lack of advancement in the profession—such as turning down promotion and a sense of disconnection with the values of the

²⁵ Ibid., 23.

²⁶ Julie Willis and Bronwyn Hanna, *Women Architects in Australia 1900–1950* (Red Hill, ACT: Royal Australian Institute of Architects, 2001).

²⁷ Ibid., 2–3. Also Julie Willis, "Invisible Contributions: The Problem of History and Women Architects," *Architectural Theory Review* 3, no. 2 (1998).

²⁸ This is discussed more in Chapter 3.

²⁹ Willis and Hanna, *Women Architects in Australia 1900–1950*, 3.

³⁰ Whitman, *Going Places*, 23.

³¹ *The Career Progression of Men in Architecture* (Melbourne: Royal Australian Institute of Architects, 2007), http://archiparlour.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/The_Career_Progression_of_Men_in_Architecture.pdf.

profession—were repeated by the men surveyed. For the authors of this report, this made women’s lack of progress in the profession even more “perplexing.”³² The ability to compare the two surveys is compromised, however, by a marked disparity in distribution and representation: the men’s survey garnered barely half the number of responses as the women’s, despite being sent to three-and-a-half times as many potential respondents.³³ This confirms Whitman’s suggestion that methods other than surveys might be needed to reach beyond the limited numbers who respond to surveys and are members of the RAIA.³⁴

In her conclusion, Whitman also suggested that what might be happening for women in other professions could illuminate architecture and help untangle the subtleties of the complex and perplexing social practices of gender in the profession.³⁵ This suggestion formed one of the motivating forces for the Australian Research Council–funded Linkage Project LP100200107 “Equity and Diversity in the Australian Architecture Profession: Women, Work and Leadership (2011–2014)” of which this dissertation is a part. This larger project, and the role of the dissertation within it, will now be discussed.

Equity and Diversity in the Australian Architecture Profession

The main aim of the wider project was to investigate women’s participation, progression, and representation in the architecture profession, with an overall outcome to improve its equity and diversity.³⁶ Architecture is an important profession for the culture of a country—the AIA describes it as “one of the most influential in our global society,” with “opportunities to shape, perhaps even transform the environment in which we live.”³⁷ Its history of having an under-representation of women suggests that women are prevented from fully influencing the critical issues of architecture, which include contributions to national identity, inclusive communities, and the culture industries.

Many would argue that there is a moral imperative to remedy this situation—that it is an injustice for any architect to be disadvantaged on the basis of gender or any other social category. In wider society, this injustice has been the driver behind much equal-opportunity legislation and policy development. Another driver for remedying inequity is known as “the diversity dividend,” which

³² Ibid., 21.

³³ Ibid., 1; Whitman, *Going Places*, 7.

³⁴ Whitman, *Going Places*, 23.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Naomi Stead, Julie Willis, Sandra Kaji-O’Grady, Gillian Whitehouse, Susan Savage, Justine Clark, Karen Burns, and Amanda Roan, “Equity and Diversity in the Australian Architecture Profession: Women, Work, and Leadership (2011–2014)” (Australian Research Council Linkage Project LP100200107, 2010), 6.

³⁷ “Becoming an Architect,” *Australian Institute of Architects*, accessed July 2014, <http://www.architecture.com.au/architecture/national/becoming-an-architect>. There is undoubtedly an element of hyperbole in such statements but they are strong indicators of how the profession sees itself.

argues the business case for gender (and other) diversity. The case for the positive effects of more women at all levels of the workforce includes claims of assisting a company to attract and retain the best talent, increasing the likelihood of innovation and creativity,³⁸ and improving performance and productivity.³⁹ The benefits and desirability of equity and diversity are well-rehearsed—either on ethical or efficiency grounds—but architecture appears resistant to such ideas and forces.

The “Equity and Diversity” research project endeavoured to understand the factors contributing to this situation, and to propose meaningful change in work practices in order for the profession to retain the talents and skills of all who study it. Outcomes have included the high-profile website *Parlour: women, equity, architecture*;⁴⁰ guidelines to equitable practice;⁴¹ the AIA policy on gender equity;⁴² and two large, on-line surveys (“Where Do All the Women Go?” and “What About the Men?”).⁴³ This dissertation is based on complementary research conducted solely by the author—specifically, analysis of statistical data, and interviews and observations—and provides an extension of the wider project. Research conducted for it (particularly the statistical work) has provided background for some of the outcomes of the wider project listed above and in the ‘Publications during candidature’ section in the front matter of this document. The specific concerns and questions of the dissertation are now discussed.

Approach and Key Concepts

The studies into women in architecture in Australia cited in the previous section have laid the groundwork for this dissertation and, in particular, lessons have been drawn from the limits of those studies. One limitation was revealed by the 2007 men’s survey report, which claims that there was little difference between women and men in terms of attitudes to and experiences of the profession. To study women in isolation can result in conclusions that falter when men are also studied.⁴⁴ Consequently, both women and men are investigated in this study.

³⁸ *Moving on from One Size Fits All: Towards Gender Mainstreaming in Medicine* (Australian Federation of Medical Women, 2004), <http://afmw.org.au/publications/43-moving-on-from-one-size-fits-all-towards-gender-mainstreaming-in-medicine-2004>; Beth A. Hennessey and Teresa M. Amabile, “Creativity,” *Annual Review of Psychology* 61, no. 1 (2010): 580.

³⁹ Georges Desvaux, Sandrine Devillard-Hoellinger, and Pascal Baumgarten, *Women Matter: Gender Diversity, a Corporate Performance Driver* (McKinsey & Company, 2007), 13–14, http://www.mckinsey.com/locations/paris/home/womenmatter/pdfs/Women_matter_oct2007_english.pdf.

⁴⁰ Justine Clark, ed., *Parlour: women, equity, architecture*, <http://archiparlour.org/>.

⁴¹ Justine Clark, Susie Ashworth, Naomi Stead, and Neph Wake, “Parlour Guides to Equitable Practice,” *Parlour*, May 9, 2014, <http://archiparlour.org/parlour-guides/>.

⁴² “Gender Equity Policy,” *Australian Institute of Architects*, December 2013, <http://www.architecture.com.au/docs/default-source/about-us/gender-equity-policy.pdf?sfvrsn=0>.

⁴³ Justine Clark, “Where Do All the Women Go?” *Parlour*, November 17, 2014, <http://archiparlour.org/where-do-all-the-women-go-4/>.

⁴⁴ Sang and others note that studies that look at only women make it difficult to determine what, if anything, is specific to women; Katherine J. C. Sang, Andrew R. J. Dainty, and Stephen G. Ison, “Gender: A Risk Factor for Occupational Stress in the Architectural Profession?” *Construction Management and Economics* 25, no. 12 (2007).

Whitman suggested a number of avenues for future research, two of which are followed in this dissertation.⁴⁵ First, the dissertation uses interview and observation methods, following Whitman's critique that survey methods were not reaching a wide enough range of women in the profession. Second, as Whitman suggested that women in other professions might share similar experiences, this dissertation draws on studies, methodologies, and literature from other academic fields. The pattern of poor advancement of women has been acknowledged in other professions; for example, a 2011 Australian Law Society report regarding the advancement of women in law comments that "despite the relatively rapid equalisation in the male to female ratio, change has been slower to reach the ranks of partners and principals."⁴⁶ Ahrentzen echoes Whitman's suggestions to broaden research methodologies and scope beyond those commonly employed, arguing that many prior investigations in architecture have been hampered by a tendency to limit the disciplinary tools used, and this has consequently stunted the development of critiques and projects for women in architecture.⁴⁷

Fields ranging from anthropology to sociology, cognitive psychology to organisational behaviour and management have all investigated gender, careers, and professions. As it is impossible to cover all these areas in detail, a specific set of concepts have been selected to frame the research to provide clues and contexts for understanding women's under-representation in architecture. Specifically, this dissertation argues (following Acker) that a series of ongoing gendering processes operate within the social structure of the architecture profession in Australia to form a gendered substructure. It is the details and dimensions of that substructure, and how they affect an individual's ability to pursue a career in architecture, that the dissertation aims to delineate.

The dissertation first asks questions around the dimension of measurement, particularly investigating the participation of women in the Australian architecture profession. Is the notion of 'disappearing women' an accurate description of the contemporary profession? Is there evidence of a pipeline effect that suggests this phenomenon will be eradicated in time? Is there evidence of pressures at successive career stages that indicate particular points of tension in the timeline of a career?

A second series of questions considers what might be distinctive about architecture that impedes the erosion of gender inequalities over time, and what might be similar to other professions. How do

⁴⁵ Whitman, *Going Places*, 23.

⁴⁶ Heather Moore and Kate Potter, *Thought Leadership 2011: Advancement of Women in the Profession* (Sydney: The Law Society of New South Wales, 2011), 1, <https://www.lawsociety.com.au/cs/groups/public/documents/internetcontent/579007.pdf>. Also Margaret Thornton, *Dissonance and Distrust: Women in the Legal Profession* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1996).

⁴⁷ Ahrentzen, "The Space between the Studs," 187.

priorities, practices and ideologies within the Australian architecture profession form a gendered substructure that propel or hinder careers for women over time? The concepts involved in these questions will now be elaborated.

Careers and Professions

Drawing on the word's original connection with movement, a 'career' can be conceptualised as a journey that takes place over the course of an individual's work life, and, for this reason, it is often described as a path. This path consists of a sequence of jobs that generally involve advancement and increasing competency.⁴⁸ The notion of development separates the concept of career from a more pragmatic series of jobs to pay the rent. A traditional career path is characterised as linear, progressive, and hierarchical; it typically consists of stable, continuous full-time employment across a working life with a steady straight-line career trajectory rising up a career ladder.⁴⁹ Historically, that ladder has often been provided within the bounds of an organisation.

American sociologist and architect Dana Cuff's frequently cited study conducted in the 1980s, which details the complex process of becoming an architect, informs this study.⁵⁰ She identifies the most common career path of an architect as an overall trajectory from a position of little experience to one with high levels of experience and responsibility.⁵¹ Although in outline this is more or less an archetypal career pattern, Cuff maintains that, in detail, the path for architects is far more uncertain. While careers within the professions of medicine and law have clear steps of set duration, architecture does not; instead, the steps are "ambiguous."⁵² At the time of her study, Cuff found that career paths for women in the architecture profession were severely compromised by discrimination, but offers little detail.⁵³ This dissertation investigates the detail of women's career paths in the contemporary Australian architecture profession.

A career can also be described as "one's involvement in a particular job family."⁵⁴ This definition is more appropriate for this investigation into what happens to those who have graduated with a professional degree in architecture, since a career in architecture more typically occurs within the

⁴⁸ Patrice Buzzanell and Kristen Lucas, "Gendered Stories of Career: Unfolding Discourses of Time, Space, and Identity," in *The SAGE Handbook of Gender and Communication*, ed. Bonnie J. Dow and Julia T. Wood (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2006), 162.

⁴⁹ Andrew Dainty and Helen Lingard, "Indirect Discrimination in Construction Organizations and the Impact on Women's Careers," *Journal of Management in Engineering* 22, no. 3 (2006): 109.

⁵⁰ Dana Cuff, *Architecture: The Story of Practice* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), Chapter 4.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 116.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 137.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 145.

⁵⁴ Robert W. Lent and Steven D. Brown, "Understanding and Facilitating Career Development in the 21st Century," in *Career Development and Counseling: Putting Theory and Research to Work*, ed. Steven D. Brown and Robert W. Lent (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2013), 8.

context of the profession, rather than an organisation. Cuff describes the prime career ambition for an architect is not to rise within another company, but to form one's own.⁵⁵ Thus, 'profession' is the second relevant concept for the dissertation. Traditionally, professions are described as a particular kind of occupation and way of organising work, involving a specialised body of knowledge gained through a relatively lengthy period of tertiary education (currently five years for architecture in Australia) followed by work training and experience.⁵⁶ Membership of a profession is achieved through formal testing of that knowledge base and experience in a legally mandated licensing process (registration), and joining a professional body (such as the AIA), which sets a code of ethics and behaviour. Underlying this pragmatic description are layers of ideology, class aspiration, and self-justification that have problematised the term 'profession' to the extent that those who follow a Bourdieusian analysis claim it too bankrupt to use.⁵⁷ However, to not do so risks alienating those who identify themselves as part of a profession, as architects do; Cuff argues that the actions and beliefs of architects are fundamentally framed by the profession.⁵⁸ Nonetheless, discussions of professions now include analyses of power and privilege, identifying them as social structures and settings for social practices involving the operation of implicit power structures—including those in which gender is implicated.⁵⁹ This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

Since the 1970s, there have been powerful economic, political, and social changes caused by globalisation, deregulation, and technological advances, which have challenged the traditional career model, as well as the contexts within which the professions operate.⁶⁰ One of these challenges has been the increased numbers of women in the workforce.

Women's Careers

Deborah O'Neil et al maintain that men's and women's careers are basically the same, but a woman's career development will be much more complicated because of barriers imposed by

⁵⁵ Cuff, *Architecture*, 137.

⁵⁶ Julia Evetts, "Sociological Analysis of Professionalism: Past, Present and Future," *Comparative Sociology* 10, no. 1 (2011): 5.

⁵⁷ Hélène Lipstadt, "Can 'Art Professions' Be Bourdieuean Fields of Cultural Production? The Case of the Architecture Competition," *Cultural Studies* 17, no. 3–4 (2003): 393; Garry Stevens, *The Favored Circle: The Social Foundations of Architectural Distinction* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998), 33.

⁵⁸ Cuff, *Architecture*, 20.

⁵⁹ Maria Athina Martimianakis, Jerry M. Maniate, and Brian David Hodges, "Sociological Interpretations of Professionalism," *Medical Education* 43 (2009); Evetts, "Sociological Analysis of Professionalism."

⁶⁰ Joan Acker, "Gender, Capitalism and Globalization," *Critical Sociology* 30, no. 1 (2004); Laurie Cohen, Adrian Wilkinson, John Arnold, and Rachael Finn, "'Remember I'm the Bloody Architect!': Architects, Organizations and Discourses of Profession," *Work, Employment & Society* 19, no. 4 (2005): 776. Note, alternative models have been posited, such as the boundaryless career driven by the individual; however, there is some dispute as to whether these models exist, and might, instead, be a reflection of neo-liberalism stressing individual responsibility. See Juliet Roper, Shiv Ganesh, and Kerr Inkson, "Neoliberalism and Knowledge Interests in Boundaryless Careers Discourse," *Work, Employment & Society* 24, no. 4 (2010); Judith Pringle and Mary Mallon, "Challenges for the Boundaryless Career Odyssey," *International Journal of Human Resource Management* 14, no. 5 (2003).

gendered social contexts.⁶¹ There is considerable research focussing on these complexities in a range of fields.⁶² In 2008, O’Neil et al conducted a meta-review of this research literature over a sixteen-year period, which usefully summarises the recurring themes in diverse research. They identified four interrelated patterns and associated paradoxes.⁶³

The first pattern is a consistent finding that the career choices and outcomes of women, as a group, are inextricable from the context of their lives.⁶⁴ Whereas a traditional career tracks a journey over a work life, for women, a career is a journey over life with differing priorities across time. Lisa Mainiero and Sherry Sullivan’s concept of the kaleidoscope career describes this effect: just as with a kaleidoscope, a shift in life circumstances alters a person’s ability to participate in the workplace.⁶⁵ While the kaleidoscope might be more finely balanced for women, they argue that the metaphor also increasingly holds for men.

O’Neil et al’s second identified pattern is that, for many women, family and career are equally important, and women tend to be simultaneously focussed on both.⁶⁶ It needs to be noted that there is a widespread cultural expectation and convention that women *should* have a focus on the family, and so this finding is perhaps not surprising. Nonetheless, family structure and responsibilities have a structural impact on women’s careers.⁶⁷

The third pattern identified by O’Neil et al is that the career trajectories of women demonstrate a far wider variety and range of paths than the traditional straight path.⁶⁸ Nicky Le Feuvre finds that such variable patterns are those that are the least threatening to normative social gender arrangements, but those patterns of gender conformity vary over time, from country to country, and between classes.⁶⁹ Jacqueline Scott et al also note that government policies are often based on the pattern of

⁶¹ Deborah A. O’Neil, Margaret M. Hopkins, and Diana Bilimoria, “Women’s Careers at the Start of the 21st Century: Patterns and Paradoxes,” *Journal of Business Ethics* 80, no. 4 (2008): 727.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 728.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 729. O’Neil et al. followed up this review with a similar one in 2013 for research from the intervening five years and found all the patterns and paradoxes were re-confirmed. Deborah A. O’Neil, Margaret M. Hopkins, and Diana Bilimoria, “Patterns and Paradoxes in Women’s Careers,” in *Conceptualising Women’s Working Lives: Moving the Boundaries of Discourse*, ed. Wendy Patton (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2013).

⁶⁴ O’Neil, Hopkins, and Bilimoria, “Women’s Careers,” 729.

⁶⁵ Lisa A. Mainiero and Sherry E. Sullivan, “Kaleidoscope Careers: An Alternate Explanation for the ‘Opt-out’ Revolution,” *The Academy of Management Executive* 19, no. 1 (2005).

⁶⁶ O’Neil, Hopkins, and Bilimoria, “Women’s Careers,” 730.

⁶⁷ Also Julia Evetts, “Analysing Change in Women’s Careers: Culture, Structure and Action Dimensions,” *Gender, Work & Organization* 7, no. 1 (2000): 60.

⁶⁸ O’Neil, Hopkins, and Bilimoria, “Women’s Careers,” 732. Also identified in Torsten Biemann, Hannes Zacher, and Daniel Feldman, “Career Patterns: A Twenty-Year Panel Study,” *Journal of Vocational Behavior* 81, no. 2 (2012). Whitman observed that women in architecture have just such career paths Whitman, *Going Places*, 23.

⁶⁹ Nicky Le Feuvre, “Feminising Professions in Britain and France: How Countries Differ,” in *Gender Inequalities in the 21st Century: New Barriers and Continuing Constraints*, ed. Jacqueline L. Scott, Rosemary Crompton, and Clare Lyonette (Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, 2010), 144.

men working full time and their female partners part time,⁷⁰ a policy structure that encourages variable career paths for women.

Undermining or complicating these three patterns, O’Neil et al find that research consistently detailed the persistence of the traditional career model as the ideal in both practice and theory. Despite many challenges, the continuously employed, full-time, dedicated person is still the preferred worker, and the upwardly mobile (traditional) career trajectory is the most rewarded and valued.⁷¹ Despite clear findings that careers are embedded in life contexts for men as well as women, the norm is to demand their separation.⁷² Moreover, some of the structural remedies instituted to integrate work and lives (such as leave allowances, job-sharing, and part-time hours) have a negative effect on career advancement, and there is strong cultural resistance to such flexibility.⁷³ O’Neil et al conclude that “work practices appear to exist in a single dimension” set by the traditional career.⁷⁴

O’Neil et al identify a fourth pattern that sits a little apart from these three patterns and paradoxes. A deficit of qualifications and experiences—known as human capital—was once thought to be a major cause of women’s slower career progression.⁷⁵ There was a persistent finding that, while increased levels of this capital was indeed critical for women, it was less so for men.⁷⁶ Human capital is multiplied by social capital, which consists of networks, both formal and informal, that enable advice and resources to be shared, and an individual’s capabilities to be seen. This social capital, and access to it, Scott et al argue, matters profoundly for careers.⁷⁷

Complicating this final pattern is the finding that, despite significant increases in these types of capital, women are still not easily accessing higher status and power positions. Increasing acquisition of social capital has been prescribed for advancement: at one time, role models were posited as the answer; which while they have a strong effect, are not sufficient.⁷⁸ Mentors were then considered crucial, but, more recently, Herminia Ibarra et al have argued that women require

⁷⁰ Jacqueline L. Scott, Rosemary Crompton, and Clare Lyonette, *Gender Inequalities in the 21st Century: New Barriers and Continuing Constraints* (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2010), 6.

⁷¹ O’Neil, Hopkins, and Bilimoria, “Women’s Careers,” 732; Dainty and Lingard, “Indirect Discrimination,” 110.

⁷² O’Neil, Hopkins, and Bilimoria, “Women’s Careers,” 730.

⁷³ Ibid., 731.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 735.

⁷⁵ Dainty and Lingard, “Indirect Discrimination,” 108.

⁷⁶ O’Neil, Hopkins, and Bilimoria, “Women’s Careers,” 733.

⁷⁷ Scott, Crompton, and Lyonette, *Gender Inequalities in the 21st Century*, 10. It is also a product of class.

⁷⁸ Eileen Byrne cited in Barbara Bagilhole, *Women in Non-Traditional Occupations: Challenging Men* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 42.

“sponsors.”⁷⁹ This intensifying of requirements is an indication of the power of social capital, but also of a persistent problem for women in gaining it.

Gender

‘Gender’ is generally used to distinguish between biological sex and the socio-cultural differences between women and men, in order to shift focus from the attribution of differences as natural or biologically determined.⁸⁰ Although, ostensibly, biology marks the bodies of women and men as different, the meaning and significance of those differences is complex, and determined by social, temporal, and cultural specificity. While the distinction between sex and gender has been blurred by popular usage,⁸¹ gender is still useful as a term for spotlighting the socio-cultural construction of distinction between the sexes.⁸² Acker maintains that these social constructions constitute the beliefs and identities that support difference and, importantly, inequality.⁸³ Inequality in status and material circumstances arises because the act of differentiation between the genders typically privileges male/masculine over female/feminine.⁸⁴ Silvia Gherardi considers “both men and women are prisoners of gender, albeit in different ways, in asymmetrical situations of power and in an interrelated manner.”⁸⁵

Gender, as a socially constructed difference, does not operate in isolation from other social constructions and practices that classify and categorise people. Such practices place expectations and restrictions on an individual that affect the conditions of everyday life. Categories can be based on other visual characteristics of the body, such as ethnicity, disability, and age; or on social class, as indicated by clothing and manner, that is the product of family background, schooling, and access to wealth.⁸⁶ The range of markers that might be used to classify a person, and thereby potentially trigger expectations and restrictions, is extensive. However, Eva Magnusson maintains that “the human sex categories are everywhere imbued with symbolic, practical, and political

⁷⁹ Herminia Ibarra, Nancy M. Carter, and Christine Silva, “Why Men Still Get More Promotions Than Women,” *Harvard Business Review*, September 2010.

⁸⁰ Although the biological binary of female/male is also argued to be culturally determined, see Anne Fausto-Sterling, “The Five Sexes: Why Male and Female Are Not Enough,” *The Sciences* 33, no. 2 (1993); Toril Moi, *What Is a Woman?: And Other Essays* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

⁸¹ Joan Wallach Scott, “Gender: Still a Useful Category of Analysis?” *Diogenes* 57, no. 1 (2010): 7.

⁸² Mats Alvesson and Yvonne Due Billing, *Understanding Gender and Organizations*, 2nd ed. (London: SAGE Publications, 2009), 22.

⁸³ Joan Acker, “From Glass Ceiling to Inequality Regimes,” *Sociologie du Travail* 51, no. 2 (2009): 203.

⁸⁴ Dana M. Britton, “The Epistemology of the Gendered Organization,” *Gender and Society* 14, no. 3 (2000): 419.

⁸⁵ Silvia Gherardi, “Gendered Organizational Cultures: Narratives of Women Travellers in a Male World,” *Gender, Work & Organization* 3, no. 4 (1996): 187.

⁸⁶ Joan Acker, “Inequality Regimes: Gender, Class, and Race in Organizations,” *Gender & Society* 20, no. 4 (2006): 444.

meaning. These meanings are often of such weight that the sex category of a person decides much of her or his life trajectory and individual fate.”⁸⁷ Gender is thus a dominant social identity category.

Gender infuses social interactions at all levels to the extent that Judith Butler argues that people are only “culturally intelligible” or make sense to us as either girls/women or as boys/men.⁸⁸ Cecilia Ridgeway also contends that gender is a primary means of social framing, stating that “we frame and are framed by gender literally before we know it.”⁸⁹ Subsequent social identities (as leader or architect) become nested within the gender identity and take on different meanings because of it, affecting perception, behaviour, and identity.⁹⁰ Given all of the above, it would be very surprising if gender *did not* figure as a significant framing category in architecture.

This is not to say that other social categories do not also have important implications for how the architecture profession formed and still forms itself, and how architects see themselves. In particular, social class and privilege have a powerful impact, as Garry Stevens argues.⁹¹ Class, he maintains, will strongly determine whether someone might even enter architecture school, as well as thrive there and in the profession. As such, other social identity categories, and the power tensions between them, are present throughout this dissertation, albeit not as its primary focus.

Any social categorisation, including that of gender, can be seen to reinscribe difference and power differentials, even when the aim is to disturb these.⁹² To count by gender, for example, is to surrender to the binary of biologically assigned categories. This groups all women (and all men) and can conceal that there is both complexity and contingency within gender, with enormous amounts of difference within each grouping, and fracturing by other identity categories. But to not consider this binary means that inequitable differential treatment and outcomes are liable to continue unquestioned. As problematic as any categorisation is, it is sometimes necessary strategically in order to bring implications into focus.⁹³

A fundamental distinction generated by gender is the gendered division of labour—typically depicted as man the breadwinner and woman the home-maker. Acker explains that this division has

⁸⁷ Eva Magnusson, “Women, Men, and All the Other Categories: Psychologies for Theorizing Human Diversity,” *Nordic Psychology* 63, no. 2 (2011): 91.

⁸⁸ Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990).

⁸⁹ Cecilia L. Ridgeway, “Framed before We Know It: How Gender Shapes Social Relations,” *Gender and Society* 23, no. 2 (2009): 148.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 152.

⁹¹ Stevens, *The Favored Circle*.

⁹² Stanley Deetz cited in Alvesson and Billing, *Understanding Gender*, 222.

⁹³ McCall, “The Complexity of Intersectionality,” 1777. Also Valérie Fournier and Warren Smith, “Scripting Masculinity,” *ephemera: theory & politics in organization* 6, no. 2 (2006): 158.

“long been identified by feminists as a fundamental process in women’s subordination in capitalist societies.”⁹⁴ The highly persistent traditional career model described above is dependent on this division. The family sphere is bounded tightly with ideas and ideals of the ‘feminine,’ and the work sphere with those of the ‘masculine.’ The tightness of these bindings is not stable; nonetheless, the gendered division of labour presents problems for women pursuing a career in any field, including architecture, because, as Acker explains, the male body, carrying ‘masculine’ conventions of rationality and emotional control, has set the norms for the workplace and work processes.⁹⁵ The ‘ideal worker’ is conceptually male—unencumbered by domestic tasks and supported by others doing them, and consequently able to prioritise paid work.⁹⁶ In this manner, the divisiveness of gender strongly infects the organisation of work as a social structure.

The complexity of gender requires some kind of framework for analysis, and this dissertation uses Acker’s framework of gendering processes in social structures forming gendered substructures.

A Framework for Gender and Careers

Acker’s work has been pivotal in discussions and investigations of the dynamic practices and processes of gender in the workforce,⁹⁷ and has been adopted and adapted by others.⁹⁸ Acker argues that gender—as the distinction of difference between women and men—is a pervasive means of ordering *all* human activities, practices, and social structures, and is therefore built into “processes, practices, images, and ideologies, and distributions of power in the various sectors of social life.”⁹⁹ In Acker’s view, this ordering by gender forms a gendered substructure in social structures—such as organisations and professions—consisting of the usually invisible processes through which gendered assumptions about women and men, femininity and masculinity, are perpetuated.¹⁰⁰ This conceptualisation foregrounds the dynamic practices and processes that can generate and reproduce gender imbalance and inequality of career progression and, consequently, provides a clear “framework for seeing inequality.”¹⁰¹ This clarity is the reason this dissertation adopts Acker’s framework to analyse the Australian architecture profession. Ahrentzen, writing of transforming

⁹⁴ Acker, “Gender, Capitalism and Globalization,” 23. Williams maintains this division has formed a complex gender ideology that dominates the structure of Western society; Joan Williams, *Unbending Gender: Why Family and Work Conflict and What to Do About It* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

⁹⁵ Acker, “Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies,” 152.

⁹⁶ Williams, *Unbending Gender*, 2; Acker, “Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies,” 149.

⁹⁷ Dana M. Britton and Laura Logan, “Gendered Organizations: Progress and Prospects,” *Sociology Compass* 2, no. 1 (2008): 107; Kelly Dye and Albert Mills, “Acker’s Gendering Processes: An Unfinished Tapestry” (Paper presented at the Gender and Diversity in Organizations Division of the Academy of Management Conference, Atlanta, 2006).

⁹⁸ Britton, “The Epistemology of the Gendered Organization.”

⁹⁹ Joan Acker, “From Sex Roles to Gendered Institutions,” *Contemporary Sociology* 21, no. 5 (1992): 567.

¹⁰⁰ Joan Acker, “Gendered Organizations and Intersectionality: Problems and Possibilities,” *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal* 31, no. 3 (2012): 215.

¹⁰¹ Britton and Logan, “Gendered Organizations: Progress and Prospects,” 118.

architecture through feminism, argues for a need to understand how institutions structure the gendered contexts in which we work in order to challenge them.¹⁰² The application of Acker's framework provides a route to that understanding; and, as previously noted, this has not been done before in architecture.¹⁰³

As an organising principle underlying all social structures, Acker thus argues that gender is always implicated in their ongoing processes of creation and conceptualisation.¹⁰⁴ Consequently, all social structures are gendered, meaning that:

advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity, are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine.¹⁰⁵

Acker's framework describes how a social structure can be gendered at different levels through four interrelating sets of gendering processes.¹⁰⁶ The first is structural: noting how gendered divisions of labour can build inequalities into both formal (recruitment, promotion, and wages) and informal work policies and practices. The second level is cultural or symbolic: comprising specific symbols, images, and forms of consciousness that permeate a society and social structures, conceptually justifying gender difference and setting norms and values. Together, these levels form the "gender social contexts" that O'Neil et al identify as complicating the progress of women's careers.¹⁰⁷ The third level is the day-to-day social interactions between individuals that can enact power differentials and create alliances and exclusions along gender lines. The fourth and final level is identity, which is internal to each individual working out an understanding of how a workplace or profession operates, in ways that will necessarily involve a consciousness of gender.¹⁰⁸ Acker argues that, while the levels of gendering processes are analytically distinct, they all need to be considered because how they interrelate forms the gendered substructure.¹⁰⁹ Each is shaped by the particular structural, cultural, interactional, and identity conditions (or, in the terms of this dissertation, the dimensions) of the social structure.

¹⁰² Ahrentzen, "The F Word in Architecture," 94.

¹⁰³ Page 4 of this thesis.

¹⁰⁴ Acker, "Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies," 147.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 146.

¹⁰⁶ Acker, "Gendering Organizational Theory," 252–54. In her first articulation, Acker identified five processes; Acker, "Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies." But, in the 1992 iteration, one is subsumed under the more general idea of gender substructure.

¹⁰⁷ Cited above, page 14 of this thesis.

¹⁰⁸ Joan Wallach Scott also identifies four interrelated elements of gender: symbolic, normative, institutional, and subjective identity. Joan Wallach Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (1986): 1067. Dye and Mills argue the symbolic maps completely with Acker's cultural; normative is implied in the idea of gender substructure; institutional aligns with Acker's structural; and subjective identity both supports and is similar to Acker's process of identity, Dye and Mills, "Acker's Gendering Processes."

¹⁰⁹ Acker, "Gendered Organizations and Intersectionality," 216.

Debra Meyerson and Deborah Kolb tentatively label Acker's framework a 'post-equity' frame, given that it acknowledges the never-ending processes involved in critiquing and generating gender.¹¹⁰ They also argue that, having identified how in particular these processes manifest, the particularities can then become sites for resistance and change.¹¹¹ Although the framework was developed by Acker for discussing gender and organisations, Dana Britton and Laura Logan argue that it has proved useful for analysing occupations.¹¹² It was also originally devised to describe gender in traditional careers in traditional organisations, and the architecture profession deviates somewhat from such traditions; rising within an organisation is less valued than forming one's own.¹¹³ However, Christine Williams and colleagues demonstrate the successful use of Acker's framework for analysing non-traditional careers in their study of work and careers in the new economy.¹¹⁴

Julia Evetts, in a similar way to Acker, proposes that pursuing a career involves navigating complex structural and cultural dimensions of a workplace and a profession by utilising interactions and identity (which allows a degree of individual agency).¹¹⁵ While the structural and cultural dimensions form barriers and opportunities, all activities by individuals in the action dimension can shift or confirm those dimensions; they are mutually constitutive or reciprocally related. Evetts' use of the word "dimension" is adopted by this dissertation to indicate the complexities ensuing when gendering processes interact with each other and the particularities of the architecture profession.

Cuff,¹¹⁶ Stevens,¹¹⁷ Magali Larson,¹¹⁸ and Paul Jones¹¹⁹ all describe how, in different ways, the architecture profession has a determining social structure. Therefore, the dissertation maintains that the profession must have a built-in and ongoing gendered substructure, to use Acker's term. How much, and in what circumstances, this substructure might advantage or disadvantage those pursuing a career in architecture, is the subject of this study. In particular, how is gender constructed through the profession's structure and culture and does this construction exclude women or prevent their career progression? Do individual interactions and identities comply with or resist gendering?

¹¹⁰ Debra E. Meyerson and Deborah M. Kolb, "Moving out of the 'Armchair': Developing a Framework to Bridge the Gap between Feminist Theory and Practice," *Organization* 7, no. 4 (2000): 563, 569. They distinguish five sets of gendering processes by splitting structural into informal and formal.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 563.

¹¹² Britton and Logan, "Gendered Organizations: Progress and Prospects," 107.

¹¹³ Page 13 of this thesis.

¹¹⁴ Christine L. Williams, Chandra Muller, and Kristine Kilanski, "Gendered Organizations in the New Economy," *Gender & Society* 26, no. 4 (2012): 570.

¹¹⁵ Evetts, "Analysing Change," 63.

¹¹⁶ Cuff, *Architecture*.

¹¹⁷ Stevens, *The Favored Circle*.

¹¹⁸ Magali Sarfatti Larson, *Behind the Postmodern Facade: Architectural Change in Late Twentieth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

¹¹⁹ Paul Jones, *The Sociology of Architecture: Constructing Identities* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011).

Limits to the Study

There is a breadth to the range of concepts that are required in order to investigate dimensions of gender in the Australian architecture profession. These pose some limits on the project. Each of the disciplinary fields in which careers, women's careers, the professions, the architecture profession, and gender have been issues for study has a body of knowledge that is extensive, complex, and internally debated. While the research has investigated these areas in depth, the complex debates within disciplines cannot be fully elaborated here. Of necessity, from this cross-disciplinary research, a set of concepts has been deemed suitable to inform the analysis of the multiple dimensions of the social structure and gendered substructure of architecture and expose its effects on women's careers within the profession.

In addition, this research project was not undertaken by a sociologist or architectural sociologist, but by an architect, with an architect's particular perspective and body of knowledge. It consequently bears both the strengths and possible flaws of that position.

The research examines individuals and firms working in traditional architectural practice mode, and there are suggestions that many women with architecture qualifications work outside of that frame.¹²⁰ However, one of the aims of the research is to ascertain what happens in just such practices to discover how women might be advanced, or stymied, in their attempts to build careers within them.

The informants to this study all worked in large commercial firms, and architectural practices come in a wide variety of sizes and forms; hence, the experience of these interviewees is not entirely representative of the profession as a whole. Countering this is the fact that the architectural workforce is highly mobile and many of those interviewed had worked in many different size and character practices in their careers. Nonetheless, selecting from the staff of large firms is a limitation, as some architects would not have experienced work life in such firms, sometimes by choice.

The decisions that the interviewed architects made regarding their participation and tenure in architecture did not just occur within the context of the profession, but within the context of a particular firm, or series of firms. Britton and Logan cite a series of research studies that clearly show that *where* one works matters as much as *what* one does.¹²¹ Dimensions of gender are thus

¹²⁰ Adams and Tancred, *Designing Women*.

¹²¹ Britton and Logan, "Gendered Organizations: Progress and Prospects," 113.

strongly affected by the context of the organisation; however, the ability of this study to identify particular employers was constrained (for reasons that will be elaborated in Chapter 4). The effect of the organisations themselves was thus not fully pursued, and this constitutes a limit to the project.

Chapter Summaries

This chapter has outlined a situation in which women seem to disappear from the profession of architecture in Australia after graduation, and the aim to explore it through quantitative and qualitative means, using a multi-dimensional gender analysis framework. It has also introduced the main concepts that will inform the discussion of findings.

The next chapter of the thesis reports the quantitative research, presenting a statistical picture of women's involvement in the Australian architecture profession. The purpose of this research is threefold. First, it establishes whether women *are* disappearing or whether they only appear to do so. Second, it investigates whether time lag means that any disappearing effect will diminish over time. Third, the data help isolate problematic points in a woman's career in architecture, which will be investigated in later chapters. In presenting this statistical snapshot, some of the particularities of the structure of the architecture profession are introduced, since the sources of data are made problematic by that very structure. Taken together, the various data sources sketch a picture of definite gender imbalance.

Chapter 3 is a literature review informed by Acker's framework. While architecture has some alignment with other professions, it also has some differences that cause additional tensions in their interaction with gender. Drawing on a range of literature about architecture, gender, careers, and professions, the chapter concludes by suggesting that the architecture profession has conditions and conditioning that make it predisposed to gendering processes, and proposes a set of ideas about specific ways in which gendering processes play out; a proposal that is tested in the qualitative research in the subsequent chapters.

Chapter 4 describes the research methods and methodology employed in the qualitative research component, which forms the majority of the dissertation, and that is analysed in the following chapters. Over seventy women and men employed in three large commercial architectural firms, predominantly in Sydney, were the subjects of investigation via interview and observation. Work processes and interactions were observed, and some statistical data were collected. In order to track and examine experiences of a career in architecture over time, the interviewees were divided into

four cohorts of increasing numbers of years since graduation. The strengths and limits of these methods are discussed.

The next four chapters examine each of the four cohorts in turn, establishing and detailing each phase of a career and the effects of gender within it. While the focus is on the interviewees in each cohort, each chapter highlights different aspects of the social structure of the architecture profession, hence supporting evidence from other cohorts are incorporated.

Chapter 5 examines individuals within the first five years of their graduation. Enculturation is the key theme for this period, as individuals learn the cultural norms of architecture and develop their understanding of what an architect is and does. It is a powerful process, inculcating them first with the discipline and then the profession, creating a strong professional identity and sense of community.

Chapter 6 tracks the accounts of those individuals six-to-ten years after graduation, or in the early mid-career phase. In this phase, people consolidate their skills and experiences in the profession, but also begin to face constrictions, due especially to structural and cultural conditions. For women, two constrictions begin to feature in this career period. The first is the conflict between increased professional responsibility and potential motherhood. The second is that those in this cohort engage more with people outside of the architectural office who are predominantly men.

Chapter 7 discusses the experiences of individuals eleven-to-fifteen years after graduation, namely those in a mid-career phase. People in this cohort have accumulated considerable experience, are generally reconciled to the structure and culture of the profession, and have found their identity in it. They do, however, begin to resist some of the formulations that dominate the thinking of the younger cohorts. Motherhood is examined more closely in this chapter for its impact on how women engage in the profession.

Chapter 8 examines those who have been in the profession for more than fifteen years. The theme here is dynamic accommodation. What it means to work in large practices and what it takes to get to the top are discussed in this chapter. Attitudes towards women at the highest levels are also examined.

Chapter 9 draws together material from the preceding cohort chapters to propose that a series of logics in the profession affect women's participation. Of major importance is the cultural and structural framing of architecture as project-based, as this framing sets in place a number of

conditions that—while on the surface appear gender-neutral—have strong implications for gender identity and interactions. Equally important is the fact that the work of the profession occurs within highly competitive environments. Together, these logics portray the profession as gender-neutral and meritocratic, but this portrayal actually obscures and helps form the gendered substructure of architecture.

The final chapter summarises the main findings of the dissertation as a whole to consider what the implications might be for scholarship and for the profession. The chapter posits some strategies for change and looks at future research possibilities.

Chapter 2 – Women in the Australian Architecture Profession: A Statistical Overview

This chapter examines the general trends evident in the quantitative data regarding women's entry into and progression in the architecture profession in Australia.¹ It reveals patterns of gender imbalance, but with women slowly increasing their hold on positions in the profession. However, the mechanisms of that increase are complicated, as the chapter will reveal. All the tables and charts in this chapter have been collated and generated by the author, except where otherwise noted, based on the data sources acknowledged.

There has been considerable recent interest in the statistics of women participating in the field of architecture. In the US in 2014, the Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture collated data showing the diminishing presence of women in the profession at increasingly senior levels (Figure 2-1).² These data and their visualisation are compelling; however, this chapter strives for a more detailed picture of the profession in Australia than such counts provide. It does so by cross-referencing data sources to determine women's participation throughout the phases of a career.

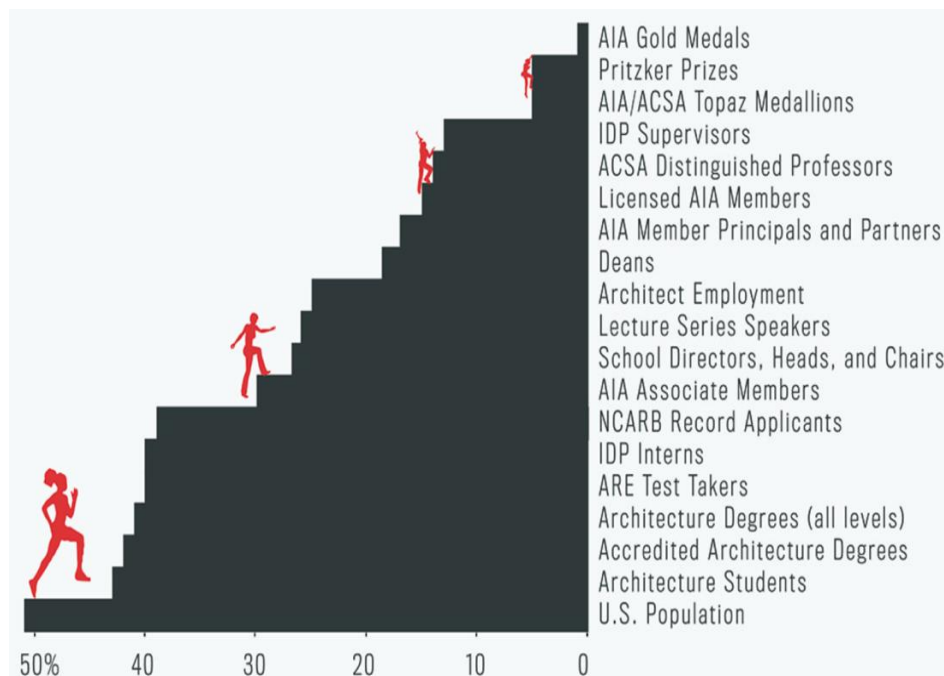


Figure 2-1: Measuring the Pipeline through the Profession (US)

Source: Illustration from Chang, "Where are the Women?"

¹ Statistical work undertaken for this dissertation has been used for the wider "Equity and Diversity" project and published on the project website www.archiparlour.org. Gill Matthewson, "Women in Architecture: Who Counts?" *Architecture Australia*, no. 5 (September 2014): 54–57. Some of the data were collated with research assistant, Kirsty Volz; all analysis by the author.

² Lian Chikako Chang, "Where Are the Women? Measuring Progress on Gender in Architecture," *Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture (US)*, 2014, <http://www.acsa-arch.org/resources/data-resources/women>.

This chapter has four sections. The first section considers some of the problems experienced in any attempt to count architects. The second investigates the education of architects to determine how many female graduates are entering the profession. The third and longest section analyses the architectural workforce and patterns of employment, particularly those concerned with age and ownership of architectural companies. The fourth and last section examines measures of professional engagement—registration and membership of professional organisations—and how these figures can be triangulated to give an overall view of women’s participation in architecture.³

A more accurate, detailed, and up-to-date count of women in Australian architecture not only addresses the question of how many women work in architecture, but also, to a certain extent, *how* they work. Such a count allows consideration of whether the notion of ‘disappearing women’ is an accurate description of the contemporary profession, and whether there is evidence of a pipeline effect. Finally, analysing the resulting figures helps answer the question of whether there is evidence of pressures for women at successive career stages in architecture that indicate particular points of tension in the timeline of a career, an examination that will be pursued further in later chapters.

Issues with Counting

There is no current count of women’s participation in architecture in Australia, with the most recent, but basic, statistics having been provided in Paula Whitman’s 2005 report.⁴ An analysis of data from the 2006 Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) Census of Population and Housing (Census) by the Royal Australian Institute of Architects (RAIA, now the AIA⁵), provides more detailed information on the workforce, but this only draws on one Census and is not integrated with other data sources.⁶ Thus, the quantitative picture of Australian architecture is out-dated and relatively superficial.

Statistics are often the beginning point for reports or studies on women in architecture, and the usual figure cited is that of registered architects. However, registration is not mandatory in order to work in the profession in Australia (and several other countries);⁷ thus, the use of the registration figure misrepresents the number of women participating in architecture.⁸

³ Some of the data are included in the Appendices, collated according to source, and for reference support.

⁴ Paula Whitman, *Going Places: The Career Progression of Women in the Architectural Profession* (Brisbane: Queensland University of Technology, 2005), 7, 31.

⁵ See footnote 14, page 6 of this thesis.

⁶ AIA, *Architects in Australia: A Snapshot from the 2006 Census* (Melbourne: Royal Australian Institute of Architects, 2007).

⁷ Jordi Farrando and COAC, *Architectural Practice around the World* (Barcelona: UIA, Col·legi d’Arquitectes de Catalunya, 2005), 50, <http://www.coac.net/internacional/ang/docs/APAW.pdf>. Australia, New Zealand, and the UK are listed as countries where the function of an architect is not protected by law.

⁸ In this respect, architecture differs markedly from medicine and law where one *must* be licensed.

The use of misrepresentative and superficial statistics is sometimes compounded by the misinterpretation of statistical results. In January 2014, the British *Architects' Journal* published the results of its third annual on-line survey on women in architecture with the headline “Sexual Discrimination on the Rise for Women in Architecture.”⁹ This rise was related to the higher number of those who reported discrimination compared to the previous year’s survey. The annual survey is on-line and anyone may complete it, which results in a high degree of variation in respondents from year to year.¹⁰ This means that the comparison indicated by the headline is, at best, an exaggeration. Such misinterpretation has the potential to undermine the aim of the survey, which is to raise the status and profile of women in the profession. A straight misreading of statistics is present in some New Zealand data: the 2014 report of the New Zealand Registered Architects Board contained a figure for the “ratio of female to male architects.”¹¹ This ratio is approximately 1:4 and was expressed as a percentage (26%). The New Zealand Institute of Architects (NZIA) then re-presented that ratio figure as the percentage of registered women architects,¹² when women are actually 21% of the complement.¹³

Figures can also mislead when they are used as shorthand for the achievement of equality. For example, there have been periodic calls to set targets for equal numbers of women and men in the architecture profession in the UK and the US.¹⁴ Such targets imply that once women reach a certain percentage, equality will be achieved. However, higher overall percentages of women in other professions have not necessarily resulted in their equal presence at senior levels, as noted for law in Chapter 1.¹⁵ To focus solely on numbers is to consider gendered effects and processes mechanistically, and to overlook or obscure the complex effects and interactions of multiple social, political and cultural factors—the multiple dimensions of gender.¹⁶

⁹ Laura Marks, “Sexual Discrimination on the Rise for Women in Architecture,” *AJ: Architects' Journal*, January 10, 2014.

¹⁰ For instance, 2014 recorded a four-fold increase in the number of respondents from the US since the previous survey.

¹¹ NZRAB, *Annual Report* (New Zealand Registered Architects Board, 2014), 4, https://www.nzrab.org.nz/Editable/Assets/AnnualReports/2014_NZRAB_Annual_Report.pdf.

¹² “NZIA Membership Information,” (New Zealand Institute of Architects, 2014), 11.

¹³ Something similar occurs in the 2014 New South Wales Registration Board Annual Report, where the percentage of women is given as 31%. This figure was produced by dividing the number of women (902) by the number of men (2804), rather than the total, and should read 24%; NSWARB, *Annual Report 2013–2014* (Sydney: NSW Architects Registration Board, 2014), 10, <http://www.architects.nsw.gov.au/publications>.

¹⁴ “Increase Overall Representation and Participation of Women to Be 50/50 at Architecture and Design Firms and Organizations,” *American Institute of Architects: San Francisco*, 2013, <https://www.change.org/p/increase-overall-representation-and-participation-of-women-to-be-50-50-at-architecture-and-design-firms-and-organizations>. Also “The 5♂/5♀ Charter,” *Building Design* 7 Jan 2005. For a discussion of this campaign, see Gill Matthewson, “‘Nothing Else Will Do’: The Call for Gender Equality in Architecture in Britain,” *Architectural Theory Review* 17, no. 2–3 (2012).

¹⁵ Page 11 of this thesis.

¹⁶ Patricia Lewis and Ruth Simpson, “Kanter Revisited: Gender, Power and (In)Visibility,” *International Journal of Management Reviews* 14, no. 2 (2012): 144; Mats Alvesson and Yvonne Due Billing, *Understanding Gender and Organizations*, 2nd ed. (London: SAGE Publications, 2009), 235.

While numbers can be both manipulated and misleading, they are nonetheless important, as they are able to depict trends that might only be visible in the aggregate.¹⁷ They are also perhaps the most convincing tool available to those advocating for gender equity in a profession. Critically, they are frequently cited, and if statistics are to be used in this way, they need to be available in as detailed, sophisticated, and accurate a form as possible. That is the aim of this chapter.

Assessing the number of people in architecture is, nevertheless, not straight-forward. Dana Cuff identified four stages in an architect's career (student, early-entry, middle years, and fully fledged).¹⁸ Only the student phase has consistent data in Australia. These are available from a number of sources,¹⁹ but those presented here are derived from the annually published *Architecture Schools of Australasia* (ASA) handbooks.²⁰ These handbooks contain information on all schools, dating from 1988. While the figures depend on the school's accuracy of reporting, other researchers have found them to be reasonably accurate.²¹ As a cross-check, graduation data available from registrar (or equivalent) offices from each university in the country that has an architecture school were compared with that from the ASA handbooks.²² The variance between the two sources averages at less than quarter of a percentage point for the proportion of women graduates from 2007 to 2011.²³ The actual numbers of graduates does, however, have a greater discrepancy, with the universities posting a total of 5,271 graduates over those five years, and the ASA a more conservative 4,963.²⁴ Nonetheless, while the numbers differ, the percentages are stable and so the patterns visible in the ASA data source can be viewed with reasonable confidence. This work comprises the next section of this chapter.

To establish the numbers working in the profession, there are three primary data sources. The first is the individual state and territory registers of architects; the second is membership data from the

¹⁷ Susan Sturm, "Second Generation Employment Discrimination: A Structural Approach," *Columbia Law Review* 101, no. 3 (2001): 460.

¹⁸ Dana Cuff, *Architecture: The Story of Practice* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), 116.

¹⁹ In 2008, Michael Ostwald undertook a statistical survey of schools and was consulted for the present study. Ostwald advised that the ASA reports were most accurate because the ABS data on students and the Australian Government's Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations data both included non-architectural students in their counts; Michael J. Ostwald, e-mail to Kirsty Volz, May 2, 2012.

²⁰ AIA, *Architecture Schools of Australasia* (Barton, ACT: Australian Institute of Architects National Office), 1988 to 2014 editions. Thanks to Carol Capp, National Education Coordinator, AIA. These handbooks are not to be confused with the Association of Architecture Schools of Australasia (AASA), which is not involved in their publication.

²¹ Michael J. Ostwald and Anthony Williams, *Understanding Architectural Education in Australasia* (Strawberry Hills, NSW: Australian Learning and Teaching Council, 2008), 31. The authors maintain there are data missing for 1994 and 2002 (page 31). However, Volz and I consider that the ASA data are continuous except for 1994. Prior to 2002, the handbook published student numbers for the year of the handbook and graduation figures for the previous year (no publication in 1994 means no figures for students for 1994 and graduates for 1993). However, from 2003, the handbooks record student enrolments for the previous year and graduation figures for the year prior to that, so 2002 data are not missing.

²² See Appendix A, Table A-1.

²³ E-mail data requests May 2012, July 2012, December 2012. Full figures were received only for the five years from 2007.

²⁴ This may be because the period concerned covered the transition of qualifications from one five-year degree to the current two degrees; the reporting was sometimes unclear.

AIA; and the third is the ABS five-yearly Census. Each of these three sources has its limitations, but, by cross-referencing between them, it is possible to produce a snapshot of the shape of the architectural workforce in Australia and women's participation within it.

As previously mentioned, the figure most often cited for quantifying a national architectural workforce is the number of registered architects. In Australia, the Architects Accreditation Council of Australia (AACA) is responsible for recommending the approved education, work experience, and examinations required for registration, although each state has its own statutory registration board to comply with individual state legislation. However, as also stated earlier, although registration is compulsory for claiming the title 'architect,' it is not required for every individual working in the industry.

The low uptake of registration among architecture graduates, in Australia and internationally, is well-documented. For New South Wales, Cowdroy concludes that "the proportion of graduates eventually registering is unlikely to reach thirty percent."²⁵ In South Australia, Susan Shannon and colleagues found a 26% registration rate for all graduates from 1999 to 2011.²⁶ In a 2010 New Zealand study, Errol Haarhoff tracked every graduate from New Zealand architecture schools from 1987 and found an average of 38% registration for those who graduated between 1987 and 1999 (who were the most likely to have registered); no individual graduation year exceeded 50%.²⁷ Despite these low figures, none of the authors cited here argue that the majority of graduates are not working in architecture. The Fees Bureau, which collates statistics on the architecture profession in the UK, notes that the number of registered architects there remained relatively constant from 1989 to 2009, growing by only 7%. They call this "a remarkably stable number, considering how workloads have mushroomed."²⁸ Rather than indicating substantial increases in productivity, this modest growth figure suggests that increasing numbers of not-registered individuals form a significant proportion of the architectural workforce.

Haarhoff considered membership of the NZIA to be an indicator of engagement with the profession. Registration boards are statutory authorities, but institutes of architects are voluntary professional organisations established to promote members' interests. Although state or country architects' registration boards sometimes contract out parts of the registration process to the institutes, the

²⁵ Rob Cowdroy, ed. *Architects' Transition from Graduation to Registration* (Sydney: The Board of Architects of NSW, 1995), 12.

²⁶ Susan Shannon, Naomi Webb, Yishu Zeng, and Jenna Holder, "Why Architecture Graduates Do Not Register as Architects: A Quantitative and Qualitative South Australian Study 1999–2011," *Creative Education* 5 (2014), <http://www.scirp.org/journal/ce>.

²⁷ Errol Haarhoff, *Practice and Gender in Architecture: A Survey of New Zealand Architecture Graduates 1987–2008* (Auckland: The University of Auckland, 2010), 18.

²⁸ The Fees Bureau, *The Business of Architecture: How Has It Changed in the Last 20 Years?* (London: Mirza & Nacey Research Ltd, 2009), http://www.feesbureau.co.uk/20years_individuals.asp.

institutes themselves have no status or authority in law. They do, however, organise the systems of awards and publications that determine influence and status within the professional field. Both registered and not-registered individuals can join an institute, since membership is a matter of willingness to pay the appropriate fee, although registration is a prerequisite for certain membership categories.²⁹ Membership can thus offer a valuable indication of the size of the not-registered segment of the workforce.

Like registration, membership of an institute is not necessary for those working in architecture. Therefore, neither of these professional measures can truly measure those who may be working in architecture, but are not-registered and/or disengaged from the professional organisations.³⁰ In particular, it appears that such measures significantly underestimate women's participation. Annmarie Adams and Peta Tancred, in their study of women in architecture in Canada, conclude that "the exclusion of the not-registered professional from any discussion of architectural practice neglects a wide range of women's contributions, while misrepresenting, to a lesser extent, the presence of men."³¹ Because of this, Adams and Tancred consider the Census to provide a more accurate count of architects. However, Census figures can be disputed because anyone can describe their occupation as architect in a Census, whether or not they are registered or an institute member or even an architecture graduate. The twenty-one 15–19-year-olds who identified themselves as architects in the 2011 Australian Census would seem to give proof to this contention, since they are unlikely to meet any of the listed criteria at that age.³² (By comparison, Robert Gutman also argues that, despite some flaws, the Census counts in the US are "reasonably accurate.")³³ Because the Australian Census figures provide the most inclusive count of architects, this will be discussed in the third section of this chapter, before the registration figures that are discussed in the final section.

The main sources of primary data about the Australian architecture profession are incomplete and can be actively misleading when considered separately. However, reading these three sources of data together and crossing between them, a more inclusive (albeit still approximate) assessment can be made of the architectural workforce.³⁴ This reading is also presented in the final section of the chapter.

²⁹ "Which Membership Type Is Right for You?" *Australian Institute of Architects*, accessed July 2014, <http://www.architecture.com.au/membership/national/join-renew>.

³⁰ Cuff, *Architecture*, 41.

³¹ Annmarie Adams and Peta Tancred, *Designing Women: Gender and the Architectural Profession* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 3.

³² See Appendix B, Table B-1.

³³ Robert Gutman, *Architectural Practice: A Critical View* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Architectural Press, 1988), 23.

³⁴ Census data were from 2011; registration, late 2012; and AIA, early 2013. This time difference would introduce a margin of error.

Education

Tertiary education for architecture in Australia typically consists of two degrees: a three-year Bachelor and a two-year professional Master's. There are eighteen university-based Schools of Architecture that are accredited by the AACA.³⁵

Student Intake and Retention

For the 2013 academic year, women made up 45% of all architecture students in Australia, although this varied markedly across individual schools, ranging from 34% to 63% (Table 2-1). Women comprised 46% of all first-year students, and, in nearly half of the schools, they exceeded 50%.

Table 2-1: ASA Data, 2013

2013 ASA Data	First Year Students 2013				Whole School Population				Graduation 2012			
	F	M	T	%F	F	M	T	%F	F	M	T	%F
University of Canberra	52	90	142	37%	130	270	400	32%	14	12	27	52%
<i>Australian Capital Territory</i>	52	90	142	37%	130	270	400	32%	14	12	27	52%
University of NSW	38	30	67	56%	258	280	539	48%	54	52	116	47%
University of Newcastle	66	96	162	41%	124	177	301	41%	52	72	51	33%
University of Sydney	83	69	152	55%	277	294	571	49%	36	46	92	55%
University of Technology, Sydney	76	92	168	45%	222	253	475	47%	36	43	93	35%
<i>New South Wales</i>	263	286	549	48%	881	1,004	1,885	47%	178	213	352	51%
Deakin University	60	100	160	38%	264	492	756	35%	33	58	103	32%
Monash University	53	50	103	51%	158	155	313	51%	15	8	23	65%
RMIT University	51	54	104	49%	216	330	546	40%	40	60	122	49%
University of Melbourne	186	166	351	53%	717	638	1,355	53%	119	136	169	54%
<i>Victoria</i>	349	369	718	49%	1,355	1,615	2,970	46%	207	262	417	50%
Bond University	11	21	32	34%	22	33	55	40%				
Griffith University	37	60	97	38%	93	153	246	38%				
Queensland University of Technology	91	92	183	50%	386	495	881	44%	35	45	87	40%
University of Queensland	70	64	134	52%	221	228	449	49%	24	22	49	49%
<i>Queensland</i>	209	237	446	47%	722	909	1,631	44%	59	67	136	43%
University of Adelaide	59	78	137	43%	198	259	456	43%	19	23	44	43%
University of South Australia	50	64	114	44%	167	224	391	43%	15	27	67	22%
<i>South Australia</i>	109	142	251	43%	365	483	847	43%	34	50	111	31%
Curtin University	51	87	138	37%	217	310	89	41%	16	17	41	39%
University of Western Australia	84	84	168	50%	398	378	776	51%	51	47	76	67%
<i>Western Australia</i>	135	171	306	44%	615	688	1,303	47%	67	64	117	57%
University of Tasmania	43	65	108	40%	182	268	450	40%	23	43	63	37%
<i>Tasmania</i>	43	65	108	40%	182	268	450	40%	23	43	63	37%
Charles Darwin University	12	7	19	63%	21	17	38	55%				
<i>Northern Territory</i>	12	7	19	63%	21	17	38	55%				
Total	1,172	1,367	2,539	46%	4,270	5,253	9,523	45%	582	711	1,293	45%

Source: Data compiled from AIA, *Architecture Schools of Australasia*, 2014.

Since 1989, women have accounted for over 40% of total first-year enrolments in architecture (Table 2-2). The total number of first-year students has also risen dramatically over the period; in

³⁵ "Recognised Architecture Qualifications," *Architects Accreditation Council of Australia*, accessed October 2014, <http://www.aaca.org.au/architect-registration/recognised-architecture-qualifications/>.

2013, architecture schools accepted three-and-a-half times the numbers of students they did twenty-five years earlier.

Table 2-2: Historical School of Architecture Data, 1987–2013

	First Year Students				Whole School Population				Graduation			
	Female	Male	Total	% Female	Female	Male	Total	% Female	Female	Male	Total	% Female
1987	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	92	309	401	23%
1988	281	440	721	39%	1,123	2,312	3,435	33%	141	372	513	27%
1989	330	468	798	41%	1,247	2,340	3,587	35%	142	343	485	29%
1990	398	508	906	44%	1,453	2,480	3,933	37%	151	346	497	30%
1991	384	496	880	44%	1,504	2,536	4,040	37%	146	349	495	29%
1992	361	492	853	42%	1,617	2,523	4,140	39%	147	331	478	31%
1993	358	489	847	42%	1,605	2,512	4,117	39%	Report not published 1994			
1994	Report not published 1994				Report not published 1994				186	285	471	39%
1995	434	640	1,074	40%	1,713	2,542	4,255	40%	196	313	509	39%
1996	512	741	1,253	41%	1,949	2,887	4,836	40%	226	302	528	43%
1997	559	829	1,388	40%	2,069	3,176	5,245	39%	235	351	586	40%
1998	629	842	1,471	43%	2,323	3,470	5,793	40%	253	327	580	44%
1999	550	761	1,311	42%	2,326	3,448	5,774	40%	290	458	748	39%
2000	580	769	1,349	43%	2,138	3,136	5,274	41%	263	441	704	37%
2001	599	761	1,360	44%	2,218	3,005	5,223	42%	285	462	747	38%
2002	623	721	1,344	46%	2,275	2,993	5,268	43%	335	452	787	43%
2003	665	823	1,488	45%	2,358	3,137	5,495	43%	301	499	800	38%
2004	629	786	1,415	44%	2,284	3,089	5,373	43%	333	528	861	39%
2005	649	799	1,448	45%	2,602	3,361	5,963	44%	361	495	856	42%
2006	752	894	1,646	46%	2,706	3,452	6,158	44%	332	499	831	40%
2007	675	905	1,580	43%	2,537	3,335	5,872	43%	395	477	872	45%
2008	898	1,126	2,024	44%	3,026	3,851	6,877	44%	370	499	869	43%
2009	1,048	1,317	2,365	44%	3,369	4,367	7,736	44%	479	568	1,047	46%
2010	1,102	1,388	2,490	44%	3,989	5,086	9,075	44%	427	548	975	44%
2011	1,068	1,381	2,449	44%	3,891	5,333	9,224	42%	534	689	1,223	44%
2012	1,058	1,276	2,333	45%	3,931	5,044	8,975	44%	582	711	1,293	45%
2013	1,172	1,367	2,539	46%	4,270	5,253	9,523	45%	-	-	-	-
1990s	4,185	5,798	9,983	41.9%	16,559	25,574	42,133	39.3%	1,830	3,062	4,892	37.4%
2000s	7,118	8,901	16,019	44.4%	25,513	33,726	59,239	43.1%	3,454	4,920	8,374	41.2%
Last 5 yrs	5,448	6,729	12,177	44.7%	19,450	25,084	44,534	43.7%	2,392	3,015	5,407	44.2%
Last 10 yrs	9,051	11,239	20,290	44.6%	32,605	42,172	74,777	43.6%	3,480	4,486	7,966	43.7%
Last 20 yrs	14,202	18,126	32,328	43.9%	51,974	69,966	121,940	42.6%	6,197	8,619	14,816	41.8%

Source: Data compiled from AIA, *Architecture Schools*, 1988–2014; supplemented by University registrar data, see footnote 45.

Prior to 1988, women formed a significantly lower percentage of first-year enrolments.³⁶ This is visible in the lower percentage of women for the whole school population for the early years of the data (Table 2-2). By 1988, women made up one-third of the schools' population, a proportion that rose to 40% by the mid-1990s. No female student enrolled in architecture in the last twenty-five years would have been the 'odd girl out' or one of very few, as she might have been in previous decades. The data indicate there has been no lack of women either desiring to study architecture, or gaining entry to the schools where they might do so.

³⁶ In 1974, women comprised 9.3% of first-year students in Australia; in 1984, 18.3%; and 1987, 27.5%. RIAA Education Division figures, cited in Clare Lorenz, *Women in Architecture: A Contemporary Perspective* (New York: Rizzoli, 1990), 144.

In the 1990s, Shannon found that female architecture students in Australia faced difficult conditions due to predominantly male role models, both among teaching staff and the exemplar architects taught; an environment that was often harassing; and competitive aspects of project work conflicting with women's socialisation, leading to silencing and exclusion.³⁷ Such conditions were reported to cause higher attrition rates for women,³⁸ and the ASA data allow this to be tested.

To determine the attrition rate, the number of first-year students was compared to those graduating six and seven years later. This comparison allows the percentage loss to be calculated (Figure 2-2).³⁹ Although the duration of architecture degrees is five years, a year or more spent working in practice has been a tradition in Australia,⁴⁰ and so the six- and seven-year data depicted are approximate but would cover the majority of students. While this is approximate, it does allow the differences between women and men to be compared.

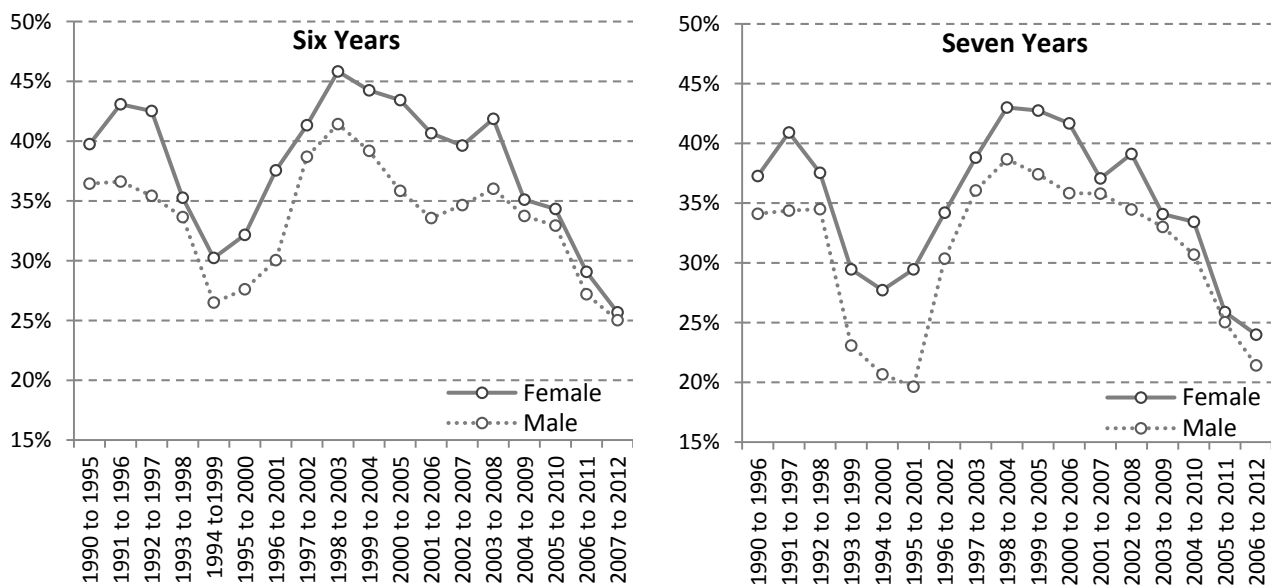


Figure 2-2: Proportional Loss of Students from First Year to Graduating, Six and Seven Years, by Sex, 1990–2012

Source: Visual analysis of data from Table 2-2.

Note: Data 'smoothed' by taking averages for previous three-year period to mitigate yearly fluctuations and missing data for 1994.

³⁷ Susan Shannon, "Architecture and Equity: Education and Practice," *Architectural Theory Review* 1, no. 1 (1996). Shannon's research confirmed patterns reported in international studies, including Carla Corroto, "Constructing Architects: A Critical Ethnography" (PhD dissertation, Ohio State University, 1996); Kathryn H. Anthony, "Designing for Diversity: Implications for Architectural Education in the Twenty-First Century," *Journal of Architectural Education* 55, no. 4 (2002); Kathryn H. Anthony, *Design Juries on Trial: The Renaissance of the Design Studio* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1991); Kathryn H. Anthony, *Designing for Diversity: Gender, Race, and Ethnicity in the Architectural Profession* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001); Sherry Ahrentzen and Kathryn H. Anthony, "Sex, Stars, and Studios: A Look at Gendered Educational Practices in Architecture," *Journal of Architectural Education* 47, no. 1 (1993); Linda N. Groat and Sherry Ahrentzen, "Reconceptualizing Architectural Education for a More Diverse Future: Perceptions and Visions of Architectural Students," *Journal of Architectural Education* 49, no. 3 (1996).

³⁸ Russell Darroch and John Dean, *Women in the Architectural Profession: Report to the Human Rights Commission* (Royal Australian Institute of Architects, 1986), 14, http://archiparlour.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/Women-in-the-architectural-profession-1986_sml.pdf.

³⁹ This differs from the method used by Ostwald and Williams, *Understanding Architectural Education*, 110.

⁴⁰ The 1996 ASA handbook lists at least eight universities requiring work experience; in the 2015 handbook, none do.

First, it is clear that architecture has a reasonably high overall attrition rate, with up to 40% of first-year students not completing within six or seven years. The dips and peaks of the data are possibly linked to economic conditions, with more students staying in mid-study employment during the boom mid-2000s period and therefore taking longer than the six or seven years depicted in Figure 2-2. Even so, an attrition rate of around 25% appears to be unconnected to economic conditions.⁴¹ Second, the loss of women is notably higher than the loss of men for all of the period of the data: up to ten percentage points difference (1995 to 2001). However, that gap was much higher in the earlier years of the data—the average difference in the attrition rate between women and men entering architecture schools last century was over five percentage points, but in the last four years it has been less than two percentage points for both sets of data. This gives credence to the assertion that more women than men were discontinuing study last century, but that the difficult conditions women students faced have been reduced.

Figure 2-3 shows another, perhaps simpler, analysis of attrition. Rather than considering numbers, it takes the proportion of women in the entry and graduating cohorts, and offsets the graduation cohort by a nominal six years from entry. While the graduation line shown is typically below the first-year line, indicating that more women than men did not complete their studies in that timeframe, there is again a clear increasing convergence in more recent years.



Figure 2-3: Females as a Percentage of First Years Compared with Graduating Year, 1990–2012

Source: Visual analysis of data from Table 2-2.

Note: Data ‘smoothed’ by taking averages for previous three-year period to mitigate yearly fluctuations and missing data for 1994.

⁴¹ Cuff also notes that many who start architecture do not complete their studies; Cuff, *Architecture*, 117.

These data suggest that, overall, the schools are less of a strong barrier to women's participation, which implies that some of the problems identified by Shannon above have been, if not completely addressed, then substantially ameliorated in Australia.⁴² However, as there was a similar convergence in the mid-1990s that subsequently widened, the recent easing of attrition among women is not guaranteed to continue. In addition, individual schools may have markedly different attrition rates.

Graduates

In 2012, women constituted 45% of graduates of the professional degree in architecture (Table 2-1). Again, individual schools ranged widely from 22% to 65% women (although this latter figure was for a small cohort and small numbers can produce aberrant percentages). There was also considerable range between states, with Victoria's four schools together graduating 50% women and South Australia's two schools 31%. Students often move from one university to another between degrees, particularly from schools in the smaller cities. Some schools also have articulation agreements with international institutions whereby students complete the undergraduate degree in their home country and the Master of Architecture in Australia.⁴³

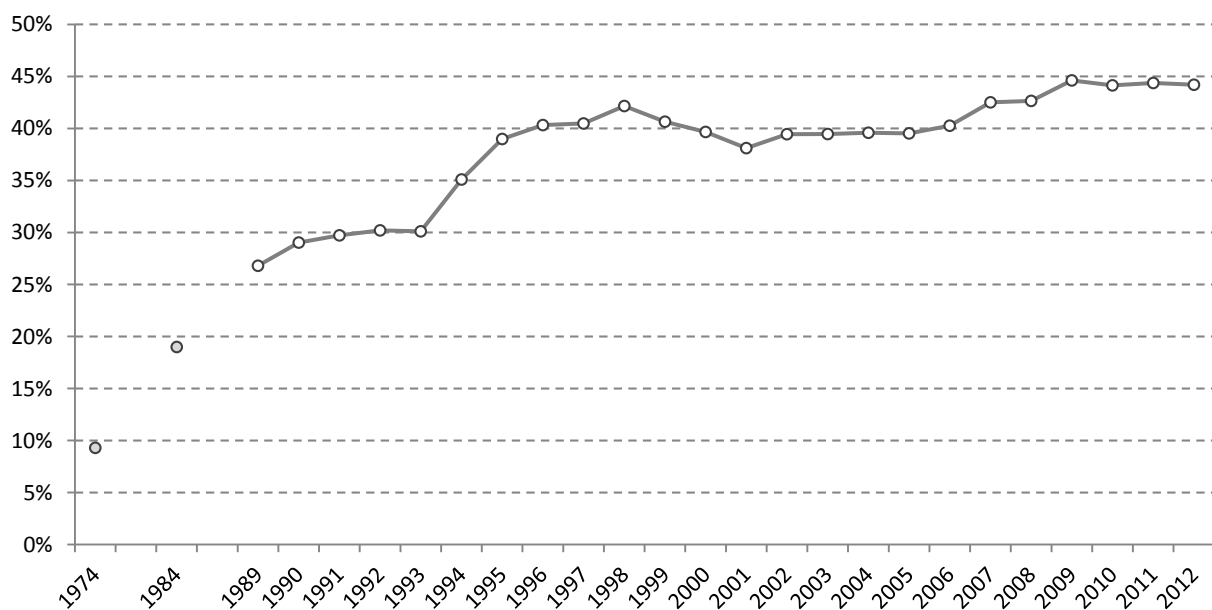


Figure 2-4: Female Graduates as a Percentage of All Architecture Graduates, 1989–2013

Sources: Visual analysis of data from Table 2-2; 1974 and 1984 figures from Bronwyn Hanna, "Three Feminist Analyses of the Built Environment," *Architectural Theory Review* 1, no. 1 (1996): 22.

Note: Data 'smoothed' by taking averages for previous three-year period to mitigate yearly fluctuations and missing data for 1994.

⁴² Gender differential attrition rates in UK schools have also been steadily reducing; see Ann de Graft-Johnson, Sandra Manley, and Clara Greed, *Why Do Women Leave Architecture?* (Bristol: Royal Institute of British Architects, University of West England, 2003), 1, www.riba.org/fileLibrary/pdf/WWLAFinalreportJune03.pdf.

⁴³ International students are included in this analysis because an unknown proportion stay in Australia after graduation to work.

Table 2-2 and Figure 2-4 show the rising percentage of women graduates of architecture since the 1970s, a rate that has stabilised at around 44% over the last five years.⁴⁴ Women have accounted for an average of 41% architecture graduates for the twenty years to 2012.⁴⁵ In addition, the total number of graduates per year has nearly tripled over the same period, from 478 in 1992 to 1,293 in 2012 (Figure 2-5). This growth has resulted in one graduating student for every 17,725 persons in Australia in 2012, compared with one for every 36,730 in 1992; architecture graduates have doubled their presence in the overall population.⁴⁶ Women have tripled their presence, from 1 in 119,436 in 1992 to 1 in 39,000 in 2012.

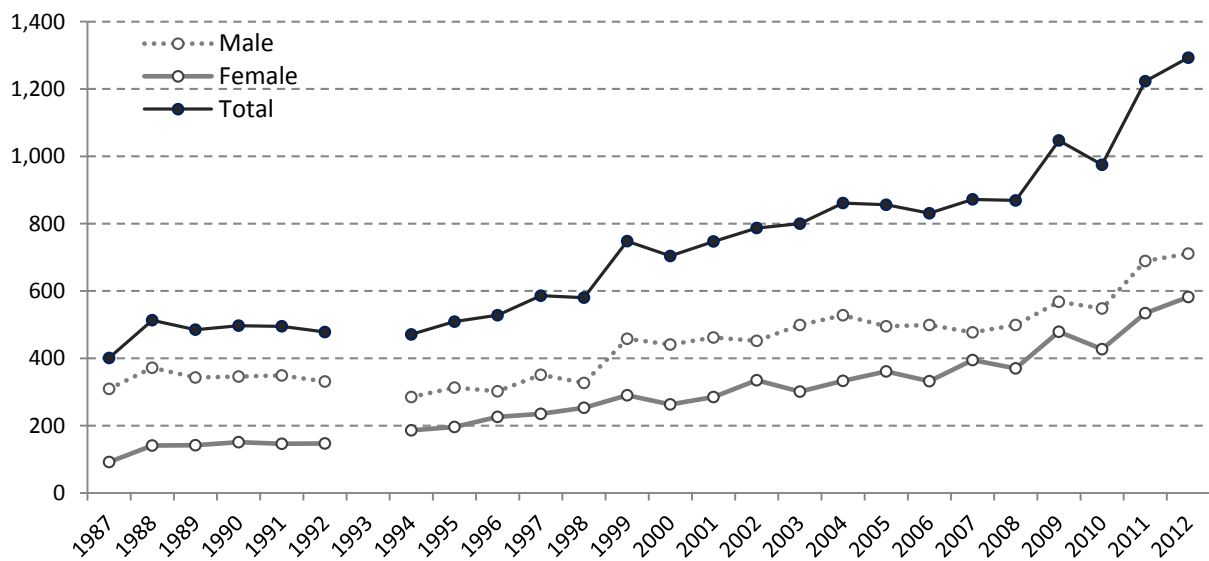


Figure 2-5: Number of Architecture Graduates by Sex, 1987–2012

Source: Visual analysis of data from Table 2-2.

At the time of Cuff's study (1980s), she observed that the labour market for graduates of architecture in the US resembled that for unskilled labour, with an oversupply producing low wages and high turnover.⁴⁷ Gutman, writing at a similar time, identified this as one of the “ten trends transforming the subjective experiences of architects.”⁴⁸ The substantial growth in numbers of graduates in Australia revealed in the preceding pages suggests that there is potentially an oversupply in this country as well—a claim made by Shannon et al, who argue that the volume of graduates in South Australia exceeds that state's capacity to absorb them.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Women account for 44% of architecture graduates in the US; Garry Stevens, “Women in Architecture 2,” *Dr Garry's Place*, accessed February 2013, <http://www.archsoc.com/kcas/ArchWomen2.html>.

⁴⁵ There were anomalies in graduate ASA data: schools did not report graduate numbers by gender (Melbourne 2006, Curtin 1998, Canberra 1994 to 1998), and RMIT University reported the same graduation numbers as total numbers of students for 1991–1994. These were adjusted in this study by using the figures obtained directly from the universities.

⁴⁶ Population data from ABS, “Estimated Residents Population, States and Territories,” *Australian Bureau of Statistics*, 2013, <http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/3101.0Jun%202014?OpenDocument>.

⁴⁷ Cuff, *Architecture*, 130.

⁴⁸ Gutman, *Architectural Practice*, 1.

⁴⁹ Shannon et al., “Why Architecture Graduates Do Not Register as Architects.”

Staff at Architecture Schools

Shannon identifies a lack of women on the teaching staff of architecture schools as contributing to an inhibiting environment for women students.⁵⁰ In the US, Linda Groat and Sherry Ahrentzen report that higher proportions of women staff “substantially affect[ed] the social and pedagogical environment.”⁵¹ Although the presence of women staff does not guarantee more equitable teaching practices, it may tend to indicate an acceptance of women’s participation in the discipline.

Data regarding individuals teaching in Australian architecture schools are presented in Appendix A, Table A-2.⁵² Overall, women comprised 36% of the teaching and research staff in 2012, a significant increase on the 6% reported by Shannon in 1995.⁵³ However, individual schools vary considerably, from 17% to 62%, which could indicate variable support for women.⁵⁴

In general, women were clustered in the more junior levels of teaching; they made up 50% of lecturers and 18% of senior appointments (Associate Professor and above). Although this is a reasonably common pattern in academia, architecture was below the sector average; in 2011, women formed 44% of all academic staff, and 27% of senior appointments,⁵⁵ compared with architecture’s 36% and 18%, respectively, in 2012.

Education Summary

All the data indicate that numbers and percentages of women entering and graduating from the architecture schools have stabilised at near parity with men. Unlike many other fields, women cannot be considered a minority of those studying architecture. Since the turn of the century, nearly 5,000 women graduated with a professional degree in architecture in Australia.⁵⁶ With such numbers and a stable percentage, the pipeline into the profession seems unimpeded.

However, although collectively Australian schools have demonstrated a pattern of high participation for women, individual schools may be quite different. Judith Blau points out that architectural

⁵⁰ Shannon, “Architecture and Equity,” 50.

⁵¹ Groat and Ahrentzen, “Reconceptualizing Architectural Education,” 177.

⁵² E-mails sent on May 9, 2012 to all heads of Australian architecture schools requesting gender breakdown of staff on permanent appointments. Casual sessional staff were not included, as they vary considerably from semester to semester.

⁵³ Cited in Shannon, “Architecture and Equity,” 50.

⁵⁴ Cuff also maintains that the subjects women teach are important; Cuff, *Architecture*, 279, note 274. However, this information was not requested from the architecture schools.

⁵⁵ Universities Australia, *Selected Inter-Institutional Gender Equity Statistics—Australia Wide, 2011*, (Canberra: Universities Australia, 2014), <https://www.universitiesaustralia.edu.au>.

⁵⁶ 2000 to 2012, ASA figure.

education is “far from uniform.”⁵⁷ This means that different schools can and do have different approaches to what and how the discipline is taught, which, along with factors such as the proportion of women staff, may mean that individual schools might be markedly different in their hospitality towards female students.

While the data for individuals in architectural education in Australia are reasonably clear, that for those working in the profession is less so. The next section considers the most inclusive data for establishing the size of the profession and the proportion of women working within it.

Counting the Australian Architecture Workforce

Drawing primarily on Census data supplemented by other data, this section details the overall composition of the architectural profession in Australia. In the 2011 Census, there were 14,973 architects counted (Table 2-3), with women making up 27.7%.⁵⁸

Table 2-3: 2011 Census, Architects, Compared with 2006 Census

2011 Census	Female	Male	Total	% Female
ACT (Australian Capital Territory)	71	242	313	23%
NSW (New South Wales)	1,554	3,634	5,188	30%
NT (Northern Territory)	24	55	79	30%
QLD (Queensland)	537	1,759	2,296	23%
SA (South Australia)	184	630	814	23%
TAS (Tasmania)	47	202	249	19%
VIC (Victoria)	1,372	3,299	4,671	29%
WA (Western Australia)	353	1,010	1,363	26%
Total Australia	4,142	10,831	14,973	27.7%
2006 Census	3,089	10,196	13,285	23.3%
Difference	1,053	635	1,688	
	34%	6%	13%	

Sources: Data compiled from ABS, 2011 Census of Population and Housing, customised data, and “Architects in Australia, 2006.”

Figures on membership of the AIA supplied an almost identical proportion of women at 28.3% (11,743 members; 3,320 women).⁵⁹ However, 34% of the overall membership (female and male) was in employment categories that are likely to be non-practising, such as retired or student, and are therefore less likely to be part of the workforce. Women comprised a greater percentage of those in

⁵⁷ Judith R. Blau, *Architects and Firms: A Sociological Perspective on Architectural Practice* (Cambridge, MA; London: MIT Press, 1984), 135.

⁵⁸ Customised data requested from the ABS for occupation code Architect, ANZSCO 232111. This coding does not include landscape and marine architects. List of data tables used in this dissertation are included in Appendix B.

⁵⁹ Appendix D, Table D-1. Raw data in Excel spreadsheet from the Institute supplied January 24, 2013. All members de-identified except for the following information: Sex, Home state, Employment category, Member type, and Chapter. Thanks to Effie Panagiotidis.

these categories (Figure 2-6). As a result, women made up 24% of those in the ‘definitely practising’ membership categories.⁶⁰



Figure 2-6: Membership of the Australian Institute of Architects by Employment Category, by Sex, 2013

Source: Visual analysis of data from AIA, 2013 Active Membership, compiled in Appendix D, Table D-1.

Note: Striped segments indicate members possibly not in practice.

In terms of employment, then, by the Census (and supported by AIA membership) women comprised less than one-third of the architecture workforce in Australia in 2011. Compared with other formerly male-dominated professions, architecture is under-performing. In the same Census, women comprised 45% of solicitors,⁶¹ and 40% of all medical doctors.⁶² Given an average graduation rate of over 41% for the last twenty years (Figure 2-4 and Table 2-2), women accounting for less than one-third of the architectural workforce is lower than what might be expected.

The 2011 figure was, however, an increase from the 2006 Census, when women comprised 23.3% of architects. Since 2006, the architecture workforce has increased by 13% (Table 2-3). In 2006, there was one architect for every 1,553 head of population; in 2011, one for every 1,504.⁶³ Despite the prevailing economic recession at the time of the 2011 Census, the number of architects did not just keep pace with population growth, but increased slightly. Women increased their numbers by over one-third, whereas men increased by just 6%—a significant difference. Women also increased in absolute numbers significantly more than men (1,053 women and 635 men). It might seem, then, that women are replacing men, and that the workforce is being increasingly ‘feminised’ as a result (although at a rate slower than other professions). However, this growth requires further investigation.

⁶⁰ It is possible that some students and retired people were working, which would increase the percentage.

⁶¹ Urbis, *2011 Law Society National Profile: Final Report* (Sydney: The Law Society of New South Wales, 2012), <http://www.lawsociety.com.au/cs/groups/public/documents/internetcontent/640216.pdf>.

⁶² 34% of specialists and 43% of GPs. ABS, “Doctors and Nurses,” *Australian Bureau of Statistics, Australian Social Trends*, accessed February 2014, <http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/Lookup/4102.0Main+Features20April+2013#p2>.

⁶³ Population figures, see footnote 46.

One method (albeit an approximate one) of predicting growth in the workforce (as well as monitoring the movement from graduation into the profession) is to cross-reference the ASA graduation data with Census data. Table 2-4 adds the number of Census architects in 2006 to the number of graduates from 2006 to 2010; it then subtracts those who retired to obtain an estimation of an expected total for the 2011 Census.⁶⁴ The actual figure (14,973) falls well short of this estimate (17,339). Over 2,300 people (roughly half of the total graduate numbers) seem to have disappeared from (or simply not entered) the Census-identified architectural workforce since 2006.

Table 2-4: Expected and Actual Architect Population, 2006–2011

	Female	Male	Total	% Female
2006 Census	3,089	10,196	13,285	23.3%
Graduates 2006-2010	2,003	2,591	4,594	43.6%
Total	5,092	12,787	17,879	28.5%
Minus retired	10	530	540	1.9%
Net expected total	5,082	12,257	17,339	29.3%
2011 Census	4,142	10,831	14,973	27.7%
Difference (expected to actual)	940	1,426	2,366	39.7%
% loss of expected	18%	12%	14%	

Sources: Data analysis of Table 2-2 and Table 2-3.

There was clearly a greater percentage loss of expected women (18% compared to 12% for men). The *expected* percentage of women in the 2011 workforce was above the *actual* (29.3% versus 27.7%). This demonstrates that, despite their significant overall growth in numbers, women actually lagged behind their *potential* growth. Jerry Jacobs discovered in the 1980s that for every eleven women entering male-dominated occupations, ten were “spun back out” by what he called the “revolving door”; the one woman who stayed meant there was growth, but a restrained one.⁶⁵ Something similar appears to be occurring in Australian architecture over this period.

Despite approximations and gaps, there is clearly a broad indication of a gender difference in conversion from the study of architecture into the practice of architecture, which means that the pipeline into the profession does not flow as freely for women. Instead, it is leaking.⁶⁶ Erica French and Glenda Strachan argue that the concept of pipeline supply is problematic as it implies that people are “on the way,” and thus they consider that the supply-line metaphor might be better

⁶⁴ By subtracting those aged over sixty-five in the 2011 Census from those over sixty in 2006.

⁶⁵ Cited in Adams and Tancred, *Designing Women*, 25.

⁶⁶ Discussed in Jacob Clark Blickenstaff, “Women and Science Careers: Leaky Pipeline or Gender Filter?” *Gender and Education* 17, no. 4 (2005).

conceived of as “a reservoir or holding tank.”⁶⁷ In this conception, then, rather than an easy movement from study into employment in architecture, there are more complex elements and obstacles that regulate that flow.

Age Profile of Architects

An indication of what might be happening in employment is discernible from the age profile of architects identified in the 2011 Census, as shown in Figure 2-7 (and Appendix B, Table B-1).⁶⁸

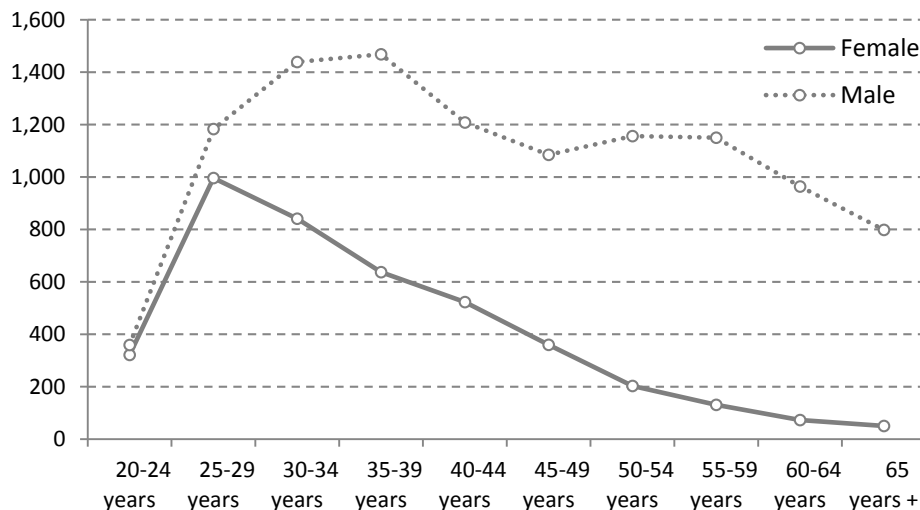


Figure 2-7: Age of Architecture Workforce by Sex, 2011

Source: Visual analysis of data from ABS, 2011 Census, compiled in Appendix B, Table B-1.

Over half of all the women are under the age of thirty-five, but only 28% of the men are. This age-profile imbalance is one of the reasons why any results of a survey need to be read with caution, as female respondents will almost certainly be much younger (and less experienced) than male respondents. There is a very steady dropping off of women after reaching a high in the 25–29 age band. By contrast, men peak in the 30–39 age band, fall at similar rate to women, and then rise again. This dip is possibly due to a severe economic depression in the early 1990s, which is when this age group graduated, and many of them were never able to find architectural employment. A study in the US in 2012 reported that recent graduates with architecture degrees had the highest unemployment rate of all graduates.⁶⁹ Economic conditions are, therefore, one of the regulators of the flow from the reservoir for architecture.

⁶⁷ Erica French and Glenda Strachan, “Equal Opportunity Outcomes for Women in the Finance Industry in Australia: Evaluating the Merit of EEO Plans,” *Asia Pacific Journal of Human Resources* 45, no. 3 (2007): 328. Sklar simply states that “the problem is not with the pipeline, it’s with the industry the pipeline is flowing into.” Rachel Sklar, “Stop Equating Women in Tech with Engineers,” *TheLi.st @ Medium* (2015), <https://medium.com/thelist/stop-equating-women-in-tech-with-engineers-e928e9fa1db5>.

⁶⁸ See also Justine Clark and Gill Matthewson, “The ‘Half-Life’ of Women Architects,” *Parlour*, September 15, 2013, <http://archiparlour.org/the-half-life-of-women-architects/>.

⁶⁹ Cited in Dana Cuff, “Commentary: Architecture’s Undisciplined Urban Desire,” *Architectural Theory Review* 19, no. 1 (2014): 93.

A comparison of the proportion of women in each age group with the approximate graduation proportion for the age group is shown in Figure 2-8. (Note that the comparison is approximate because it cannot take into account mature-age graduates.) All age bands over age thirty, where there is clear graduation data, show the workforce participation of women being lower than graduation proportion, with the greatest discrepancy in the mid-career age-bands of 35–44. Like Table 2-4, this suggests that women do not maintain their share of the architectural workforce equating to their graduation levels. This does not, however, mean that those graduates who do not identify as architects in the Census are necessarily employed in areas markedly different from their qualification. Adams and Tancred found that most graduates were in related fields.⁷⁰

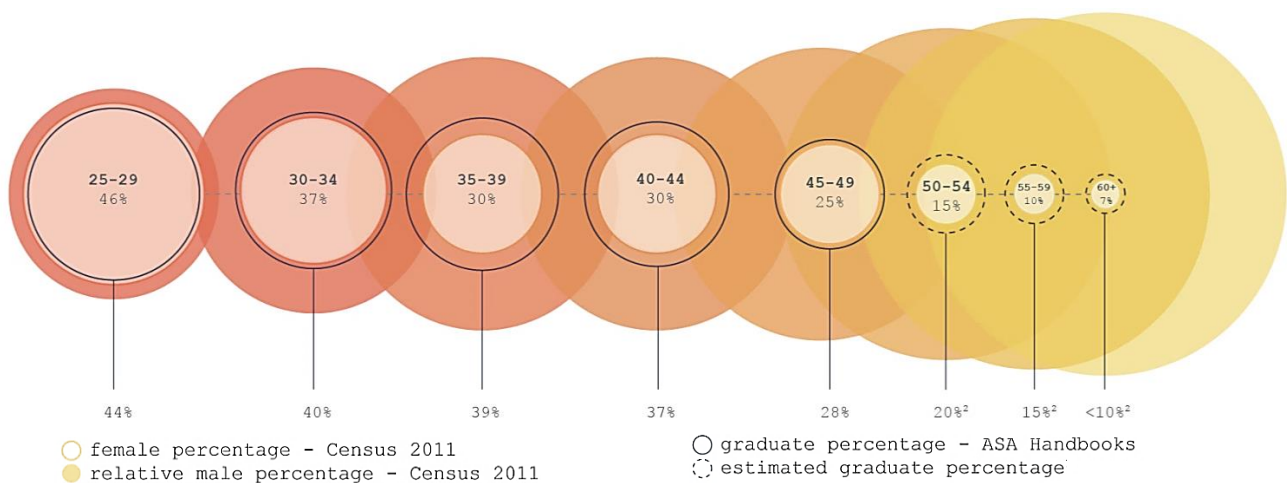


Figure 2-8: Females as a Percentage of the Architecture Workforce by Age, Compared with Approximate Graduating Proportion

Sources: Visual analysis of data from Table 2-2 and Appendix B, Table B-1.

Note: Graphic by Georgina Russell.⁷¹

A finer analysis comes from comparing the difference in numbers by age group between the 2006 and 2011 Censuses. Table 2-5 shows the calculation and Figure 2-9 shows this in graphic form. Overall, the workforce became slightly younger over this period: in 2006, 46% were under the age of forty; in 2011, this figure was 48%. The greatest percentage losses occur for those who were 55–59 in the 2006 Census and 60–64 in the 2011 Census count (note, there were very few women in this age group). Both women and men who were 25–30 in the 2006 Census (and 30–34 in 2011) increased in numbers. But the gain for men was significantly more than that for women; women were less than a quarter of the growth in numbers (ninety-two women to 311 men). Given near equitable graduation rates, this difference suggests that more women than men were leaving in this early-career phase.

⁷⁰ Adams and Tancred, *Designing Women*, 33.

⁷¹ Published in Matthewson, “Who Counts,” 54.

Table 2-5: Gain/Loss for Architects by Age Group and Sex, 2006–2011

Age band in 2011	Female				Male			
	2006	2011	Difference		2006	2011	Difference	
30-34 years	749	841	+92	+12%	1,128	1,439	+311	+28%
35-39 years	641	637	-4	-1%	1,324	1,468	+144	+11%
40-44 years	485	523	+38	+8%	1,207	1,208	+1	0%
45-49 years	369	360	-9	-2%	1,151	1,085	-66	-6%
50-54 years	236	203	-33	-14%	1,253	1,156	-97	-8%
55-59 years	148	131	-17	-11%	1,288	1,150	-138	-11%
60-64 years	93	73	-20	-22%	1,180	964	-216	-18%

Sources: Data analysis of Appendix B, Table B-1; and “Architects in Australia, 2006,” 13.

Note: 25–29 age-band not shown as numbers for the 20–24 group in 2006 were low and would cause distortion.

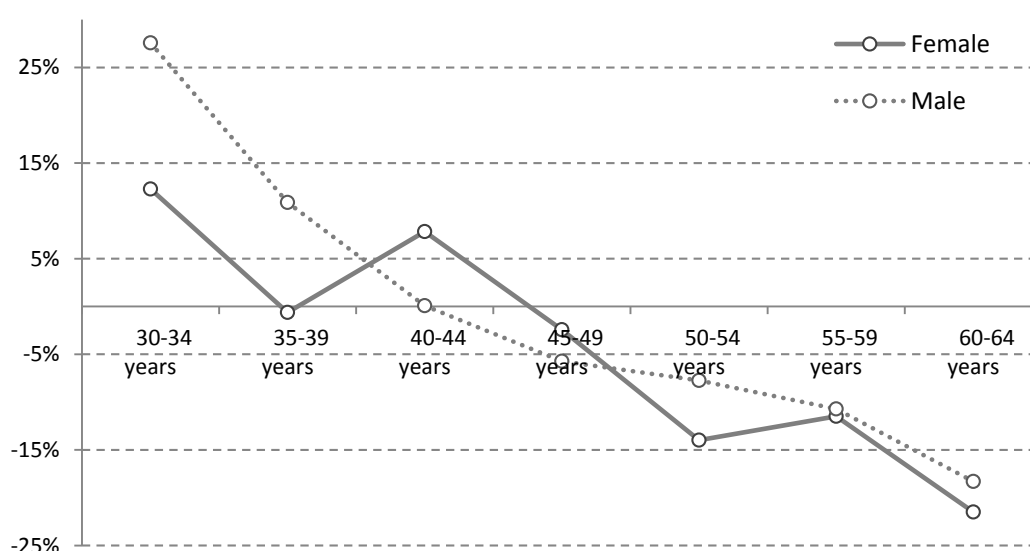


Figure 2-9: Gain/Loss for Architects by Age Group and Sex, 2006 to 2011

Source: Visual analysis of data from Table 2-5.

Apart from a rise for women in the 40–44 age (caused by just thirty-eight women returning to the architecture workforce, small numbers resulting in a distorting percentage), there is a clear tendency for women to leave from before the age of thirty. Notably, in the 25–29 age band in 2006, women comprised 40% of the workforce, which exactly matched their graduation proportion, but five years later in 2011 (aged 30–34), they dropped their workforce participation by three percentage points. Some of the absence of women would be due to leave taken for having or caring for children. The increase of thirty-eight women aged 40–44 is probably the return of those who, aged 35–39 in 2006, had taken such leave. The extent of this effect is not possible to determine. There is also no way to calculate the effect of the 2008 financial crisis on employment. Australia was less affected than other countries due to federal government stimulus packages in 2008 and 2009, which helped to buffer the construction industry from the effects of the abrupt fall in commercial and private projects. Nonetheless, there was a sudden stalling of construction, which impacted on the

architecture profession.⁷² There is some evidence that redundancies in the architectural workforce were disproportionately felt by women in the US and the UK,⁷³ but there are no Australian data.

Another way of checking the loss of women is to combine the information from Table 2-4 with that from Table 2-5. By subtracting the number of people who were forty and over in 2006 and left between Censuses (rather than just those who retired) from the expected architecture population, a clearer indication of the loss of graduates (or younger people) is possible (Table 2-6).

Table 2-6: Approximate Loss of Graduates, 2006–2011

	Female	Male	Total	% Female
Graduates 2006-2010	2,003	2,591	4,594	43.6%
Difference (expected to actual from 2011 Census)	940	1,426	2,366	39.7%
Numbers of seniors leaving – 2006-2011	79	517	596	
Approximate numerical loss of graduates	861	909	1,770	48.6%
% loss of graduates	43%	35%	39%	

Sources: Analysis of Table 2-4 and Table 2-5

This clearly shows a greater percentage loss of women. The data therefore indicate that women were entering the architecture workforce at a lower rate than men in the first five years after graduation, and that they continued to leave after that point. Men, however, were leaving after the age of forty-five.

Employment Characteristics of Women and Men in Architecture

Further clues to women’s participation and career progression in architecture can be found by probing their engagement in the workforce: do they work full time or part time? Are they mainly employees or owners? Previous Australian research found ownership of a practice was an important aspiration for both women and men in architecture.⁷⁴ Cuff, likewise, observes that ownership is a “guiding vision” for architects.⁷⁵ Both Census and membership of the AIA give an indication of employment status and ownership levels, and provide a similar picture.

Table 2-7 details the employment situation for women and men from the 2011 Census. The Census divides businesses into unincorporated and incorporated entities; the latter are limited liability

⁷² Discussed in Ram Karthikeyan Thangaraj and Toong Khuan Chan, “The Effects of the Global Financial Crisis on the Australian Building Construction Supply Chain,” *The Australasian Journal of Construction Economics and Building* 12, no. 3 (2012).

⁷³ See Gill Matthewson, “Angie the Architect Meets Rosie the Riveter,” *Parlour*, November 8, 2012, <http://www.archiparlour.org/angie-the-architect-meets-rosie-the-riveter/>.

⁷⁴ Cited in AIA, *Architects in Australia*: 5.

⁷⁵ Cuff, *Architecture*, 137. Also page 13 of this thesis.

companies, which, in architecture, are the larger practices.⁷⁶ All owner/managers in this category would be principals or directors of firms. Unincorporated entities include sole practitioners, contract workers, and smaller concerns, such as partnerships—most (but not all) would be owners.

Table 2-7: Employment Situation by Sex, 2011 Census

2011 Census	Female	Male	Total	% Female
Contributing family worker	30	78	108	28%
Employee not owning business	3,151	6,173	9,324	34%
Owner managers of unincorporated enterprises	498	1,604	2,102	24%
Owner managers of incorporated enterprises	454	2,941	3,395	13%
Total	4,133	10,796	14,929	28%
All Owners	952	4,545	5,497	17%

Source: Data compiled from ABS, 2011 Census.

Comparing the Census figures with the AIA membership profile, there were some alignments in the percentage of women in the employment categories (Table 2-8). Women formed over one-third of all employees in both data sources. As owners, women tended to be clustered in smaller concerns.

Table 2-8: Percentage of Females by Employment Status, Census 2011, AIA Membership 2013

	Census % Female	AIA % Female
Employees	34%	34%
Small practice owners	24%	22%
Large practice owners	13%	12%
All owner managers	17%	14%

Sources: Analysis of Table 2-7 and Appendix D, Table D-1.

Women's share of directors of larger companies was 12–13% from both sources. Whitman cites less than 1% of registered architect directors of Queensland architecture companies were women in 2002, and suggests that the Australia-wide figure would not be much different.⁷⁷ Four years later, the 2006 Census showed women comprised 11% of director/owners of the larger practices.⁷⁸ In 2013, Queensland had a lower than national average for AIA women directors (9%), which demonstrates that extrapolating from one state to the country (as Whitman did) is problematic.⁷⁹

Table 2-9 considers the distribution of women and men in the different employment categories. The 2011 Census shows the architecture workforce was comprised mainly of employees (62%). There

⁷⁶ Cited in *AIA Architects in Australia*: 5, note 2.

⁷⁷ Whitman, *Going Places*, 7, note 1.

⁷⁸ See Appendix B, Table B-3.

⁷⁹ See Appendix D, Table D-2.

was, however, a marked gender difference with over three quarters of all women, but only 57% of all men, being employees. This pattern was repeated in AIA membership distribution. However, AIA membership has a different pattern for owner-to-employee ratio than the Census has: more than half (52%) of its members were owners. This reflects membership having some strong advantages for owners, while the benefits for employees are less clear (for instance, only owners can enter the AIA awards program).

Table 2-9: Percentage Distribution by Employment Status, Census 2011, AIA Membership 2013

	Census			AIA Membership (in practice)		
	% all Females	% all Males	% of Total	% all Females	% all Males	% of Total
Employee	76%	57%	62%	69%	41%	48%
Small practice owner	12%	15%	14%	15%	19%	18%
Large practice owner	11%	27%	23%	16%	40%	34%
All owners	23%	42%	37%	31%	59%	52%

Sources: Data compiled from ABS, 2011 Census, and Appendix D, Table D-1.

Reading just the 2011 Census data (to avoid the bias towards owners in the AIA data), women were relatively evenly distributed between the two types of ownership identified. Conversely, men were more commonly owners of larger practices. Less than one-quarter of the women owned and managed their own business, but 42% of the men did. Overall, architecture had a much higher proportion of owner/managers of business entities than other professionals: 37% compared with 14%. There was also a gender differential in ownership for all professionals: 20% of all professional men owned and managed their own business, but just 9% of professional women did.⁸⁰

The proportion of those owning architecture entities dropped from over 40% in the 2006 Census to 37% in the 2011 Census (Table 2-9; see Appendix B, Table B-3 for 2006 data). Some of this can be attributed to the recession, which can make small practices less viable. Table 2-10 shows the difference between the subsequent Census data in employment categories.

Table 2-10: Numbers in Employment Type by Sex, 2006 and 2011

	Female				Male			
	2006	2011	Diff	% growth	2006	2011	Diff	% growth
Contributing family worker	16	30	14		33	78	45	
Employee not owning business	2,266	3,151	885	39%	5,519	6,173	654	12%
Owner managers of unincorporated enterprises	444	498	54	12%	1,733	1,604	-129	-7%
Owner managers of incorporated enterprises	348	454	106	30%	2,877	2,941	64	2%
All Owners	792	952	160	20%	4,610	4,545	-65	-1%

Sources: Data analysis of Table 2-7 and Appendix B, Table B-3.

⁸⁰ See Appendix B, Table B-2.

Although the overall proportion of owners declined, women increased their ownership numbers from 2006 to 2011 by 20%, and particularly as owners of larger (incorporated) companies (an impressive 30% growth, which lifted women’s share of this category of owners from 11% to 13%). However, the retirement of men and the strong pattern of senior men leaving (demonstrated in Figure 2-9) mean this does not necessarily represent a substantial change in the promotion of women within these firms. Nonetheless, although women may not be continuing in the workforce at the same rate as men, the ones who are staying are increasing their share of ownership positions.

If younger people are less likely to have the requisite experience to be owners and women (as a group) have a younger age profile than men, then an analysis of owner/employee by age is useful for providing finer-grained information.⁸¹ Figure 2-10 represents the proportions of each age group according to employment situation.

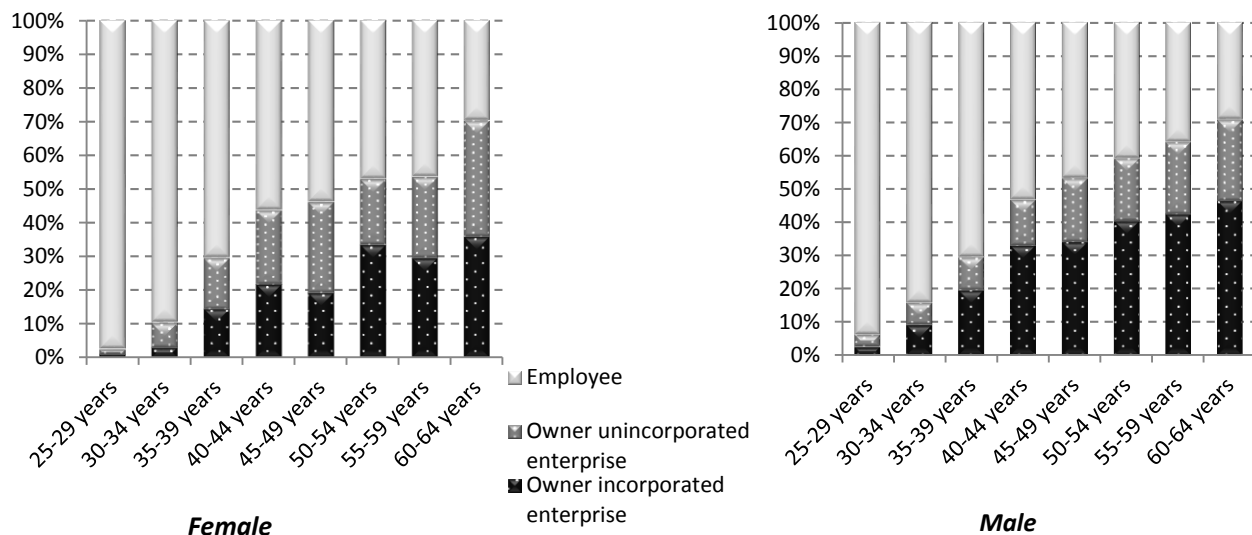


Figure 2-10: Employment Situation by Age and Sex, 2011

Source: Visual analysis of data from Appendix B, Table B-4.

The proportion of owner managers starts to increase in mid-career (35–39), a pattern that holds for women and men. By age forty-five, the proportion of male owners exceeds male employees, but women reach that stage five years later (although there are lower numbers of women in architecture over the age of fifty, which means that one or two women either way in a category can have a more significant percentage impact). Women were also more commonly owners of smaller business and men become owners of the larger ones earlier than women.

A closer analysis of women’s ownership/employee status by age is shown in Figure 2-11. Women formed a significant proportion of all owners of small/unincorporated enterprises in the 30–49 age

⁸¹ See Appendix B, Table B-4.

groups. This rate appears to parallel, and even exceed, the approximate graduation rate for those age groups (although with small numbers of women, this is very approximate). Cuff observed that during the 1980s, women left established offices to start their own firms sooner than men due to discrimination.⁸² It would appear that the move to small business entities is still a common one for women, but whether it is primarily due to discrimination, or a more traditional bid for professional independence, or for more flexible working conditions, is not possible to discern from these data.

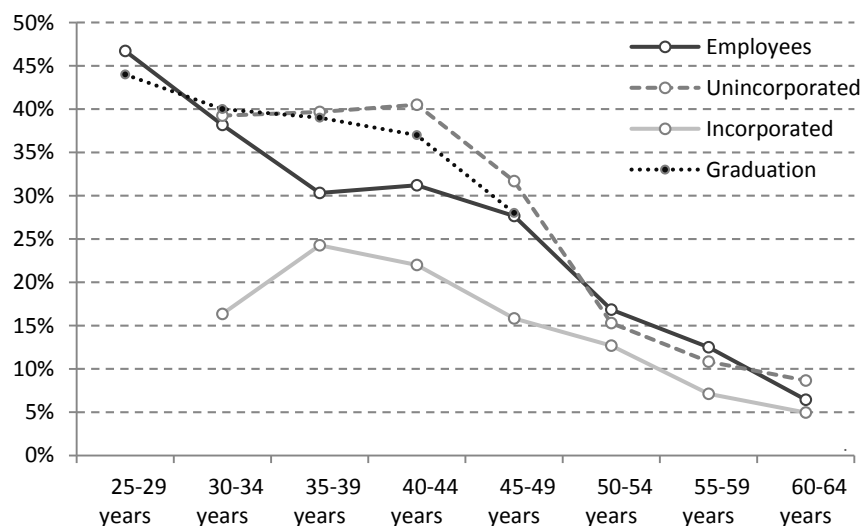


Figure 2-11: Females as a Proportion of Employment Situation by Age, Compared with Graduation, 2011

Sources: Visual analysis of data from Figure 2-4 and Appendix B, Table B-4.

Note: Owners in the 25–29 age group not shown; numbers too few to be statistically reliable.

Cuff describes dedication of time as critical to becoming a “good” architect.⁸³ The 2011 Census confirmed that long hours were common in architecture: 40% of all architects worked over forty hours a week, compared with 31% of all professionals; and 23% of architects worked over forty-eight hours a week, compared with 18% of professionals (see Appendix B, Table B-5).⁸⁴ The majority of women and men in architecture worked full-time, but there was a difference between genders, with 71% of the women working thirty-five or more hours a week and 87% of the men working these hours. More than one-quarter of the men (27%) worked over forty-nine hours a week, as did 13% of the women. Conversely, only 17% of architects worked part-time, compared with 27% of all professionals. This difference seems to suggest that architecture is less supportive of part-time work than other professions. A significant difference appeared when gender was taken into account: 13% of male architects worked part-time, just two percentage points under the average of 15% for all professional men. But, at 29%, female architects working part time were well under

⁸² Cuff, *Architecture*, 145. Also discussed in Gill Matthewson, “You Have No Idea: Women in Architecture in the Eighties” (Paper presented at the “... Ponderously Pedantic Pediments Prevail ... Good, Clean Fun in a Bad, Dirty World” New Zealand Architecture in the 1980s Symposium, Wellington, 2009).

⁸³ Cuff, *Architecture*, 153.

⁸⁴ Working over forty-eight hours a week is the UK definition of long hours, cited in Jane Sturges, “A Matter of Time: Young Professionals’ Experiences of Long Work Hours,” *Work, Employment & Society* 27, no. 2 (2013): 346.

the average of 38% for all professional women. Figure 2-12 shows the difference between male and female architects in part-time work, as well as the long hours worked in architecture. It also shows that Deborah O’Neil et al’s pattern of women’s highly variable career paths holds in architecture.⁸⁵

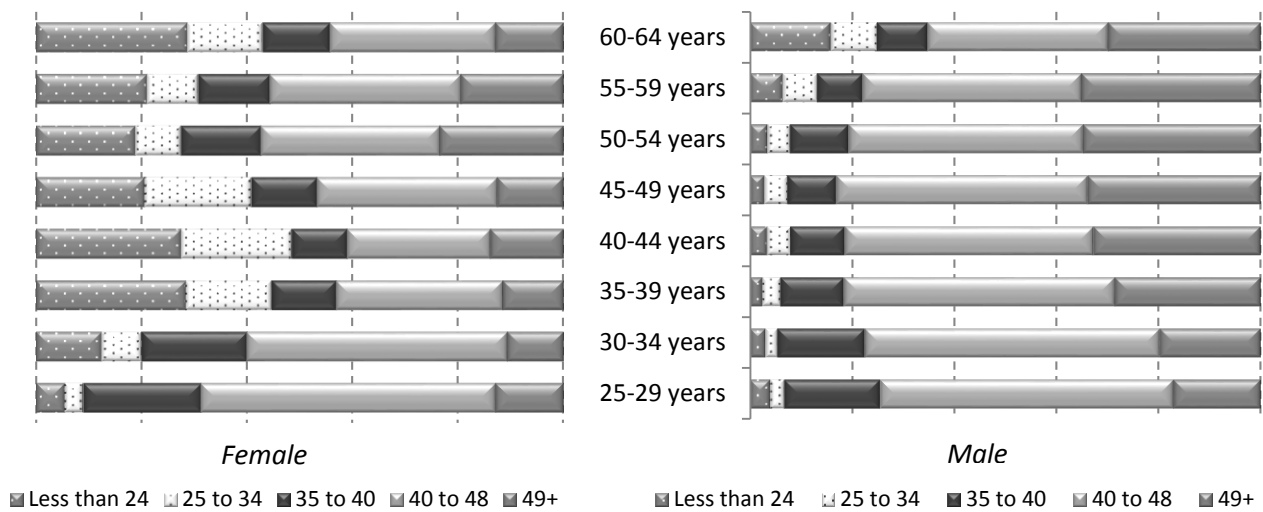


Figure 2-12: Proportion of Age Band by Hours Worked per Week by Sex

Source: Visual analysis of data from ABS, 2011 Census.

Figure 2-13 breaks the 2011 Census data by age showing the number of full- and part-time workers. The part-time population noticeably increased for women in the 35–44 age groups, but did not lift for men until the age of fifty-five. Nonetheless, the chart shows a consistent number of part-time men across all age groups, matching the numbers of women in their twenties and exceeding them after the age of fifty.

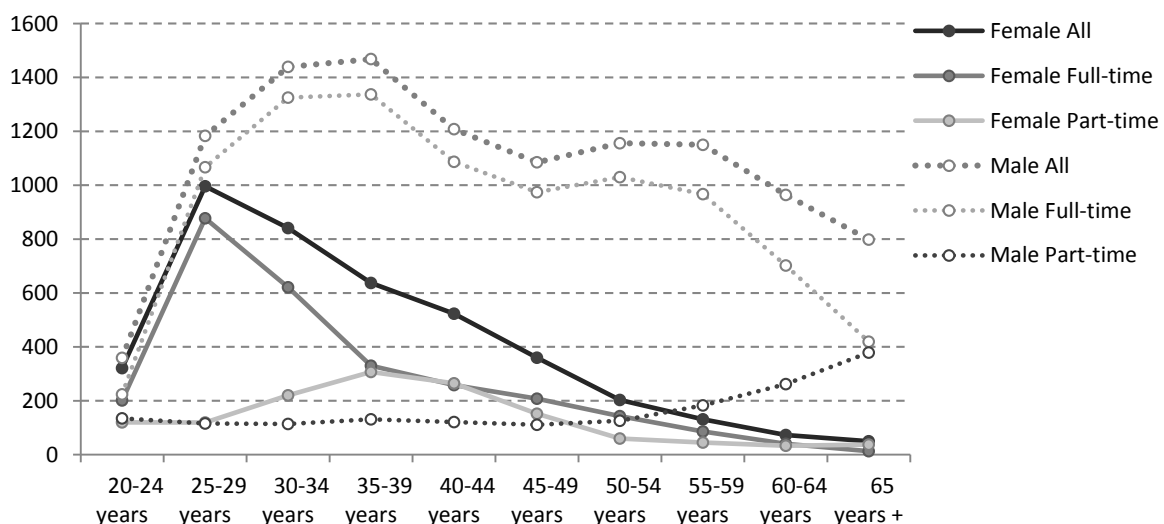


Figure 2-13: Numbers of Full-Time/Part-Time Workers by Age and Sex

Source: Visual analysis of data from Appendix B, Table B-6.

⁸⁵ Deborah A. O’Neil, Margaret M. Hopkins, and Diana Bilimoria, “Women’s Careers at the Start of the 21st Century: Patterns and Paradoxes,” *Journal of Business Ethics* 80, no. 4 (2008): 733. Also page 14 of this thesis.

Breaking down the data still further, Figure 2-14 (also Appendix B, Table B-6) investigates employee/owner status and reveals that not only were women more likely to be working part time than men (whether as employees or owners), but also that both women and men more frequently worked part time in the owner/manager of unincorporated enterprises category. This pattern supports a contention that time-flexibility is more possible within a small business arrangement. Notably, different employment categories relate to longer hours: owners of incorporated enterprises worked the longest hours. Nearly half (44%) of these male owners recorded working over forty-eight hours a week, as did 22% of the women.

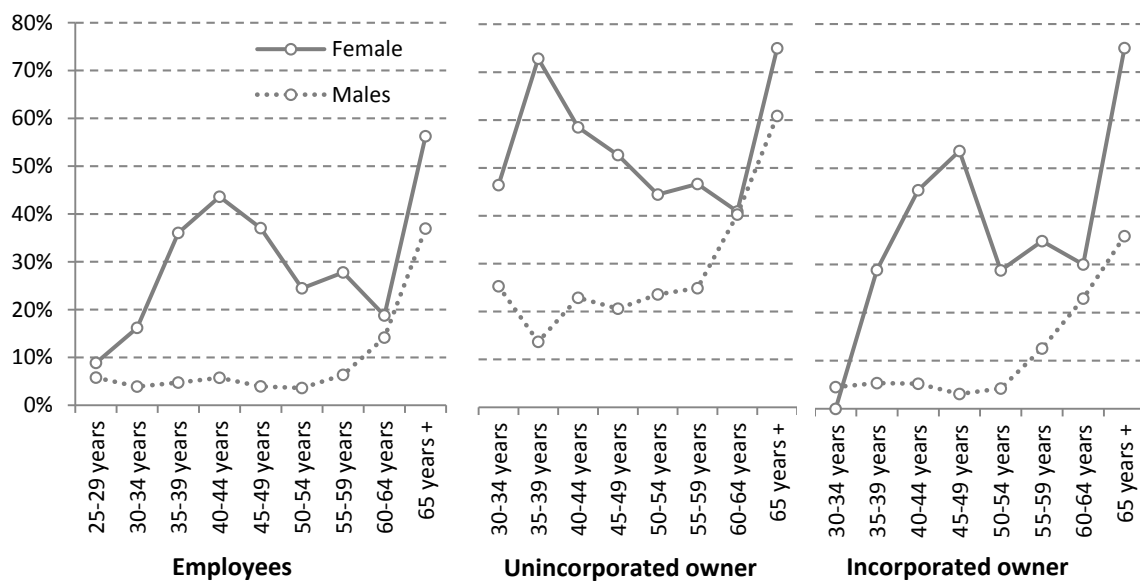


Figure 2-14: Percentage of Architects Working Part-Time, by Age, Sex, and Employment Type
Source: Visual analysis of data from Appendix B, Table B-6.

A gender pay difference for graduates in architecture in Australia was reported in 2013.⁸⁶ However, it was not possible to generate a gender pay gap figure from any Census data controlling for all factors to enable comparison (income, employment type, hours worked, gender, and age) without introducing significant errors.⁸⁷

Measures of Professional Status

As discussed previously, although counts of registered architects or members of professional associations are imperfect measures—because neither is mandatory—they are commonly cited for measuring the profession. In particular, the count of registered architects is the standard way of reporting both the size of the profession and women’s share of it.

⁸⁶ Justine Clark, “The Graduate Gender Pay Gap Part 1—What Do the Numbers Mean?” *Parlour*, January 13, 2013, <http://archiparlour.org/the-graduate-gender-pay-gap-part-1-what-do-the-numbers-mean/>.

⁸⁷ ABS consultant, e-mail to author, February 25, 2014.

Registered Architects

In Australia, the number of architects varies considerably between the states. Some states also have a register of non-practising architects (New South Wales, Queensland, Victoria, and Western Australia). These latter registers totalled 2,268 people in 2012, of whom women comprised 22%;⁸⁸ state by state, this proportion varied from 10% to 27%. Table 2-11 shows active architects.

Table 2-11: Registered Architects (Boards), 2012

	Female	Male	Total	%Female
ACT	50	271	321	16%
NSW	803	2,741	3,544	23%
NT	36	174	210	17%
QLD	446	1,939	2,385	18%
SA	128	658	786	16%
TAS	49	343	392	13%
VIC	781	2,538	3,319	24%
WA	149	829	978	15%
	2,442	9,493	11,935	20.5%

Sources: Data supplied by individual State and Territory Boards July–September 2012, except for SA figures from “Annual Report, 2012,” (Adelaide: Architecture Practice Board of South Australia, 2012), 13.

In 2004, Whitman sourced the equivalent figures,⁸⁹ allowing the 2004 and 2012 counts to be compared to determine the growth of the registers, shown in Table 2-12.

Table 2-12: Registered Architects in Australia, Growth, 2004–2012

	Female	Male	Total	% Female
2004	1,593	9,662	11,225	14.2%
2012	2,442	9,493	11,935	20.5%
Difference 2004 to 2012	849	-169	680	125%
% increase 2004 to 2012	53%	-2%	6%	

Sources: Data collated from Whitman, *Going Places*, 31; and Table 2-11.

The substantial increase in numbers of registered women accounted for *all* of the growth of the registers since 2004, as the number of registered men declined. The 6% total growth is less than the 13% growth in the architectural workforce between the 2006 and 2011 Censuses (Table 2-3). This means that while the architectural workforce kept pace with Australia’s population growth, the number of registered architects did not.

⁸⁸ Data extracted from online registers, except for NSW, which was from NSWARB, *Annual Report 2011–2012* (Sydney: NSW Architects Registration Board, 2012), <http://www.architects.nsw.gov.au/download/ARB%20Annual%20Report%202012.pdf>.

⁸⁹ Whitman, *Going Places*, 31.

This high growth rate of registered women continues an accelerating trend identified by Julie Willis in her statistical study of state registers from 1923 to 1997.⁹⁰ Women's numbers began to rise steeply around 1990 (Figure 2-15).⁹¹

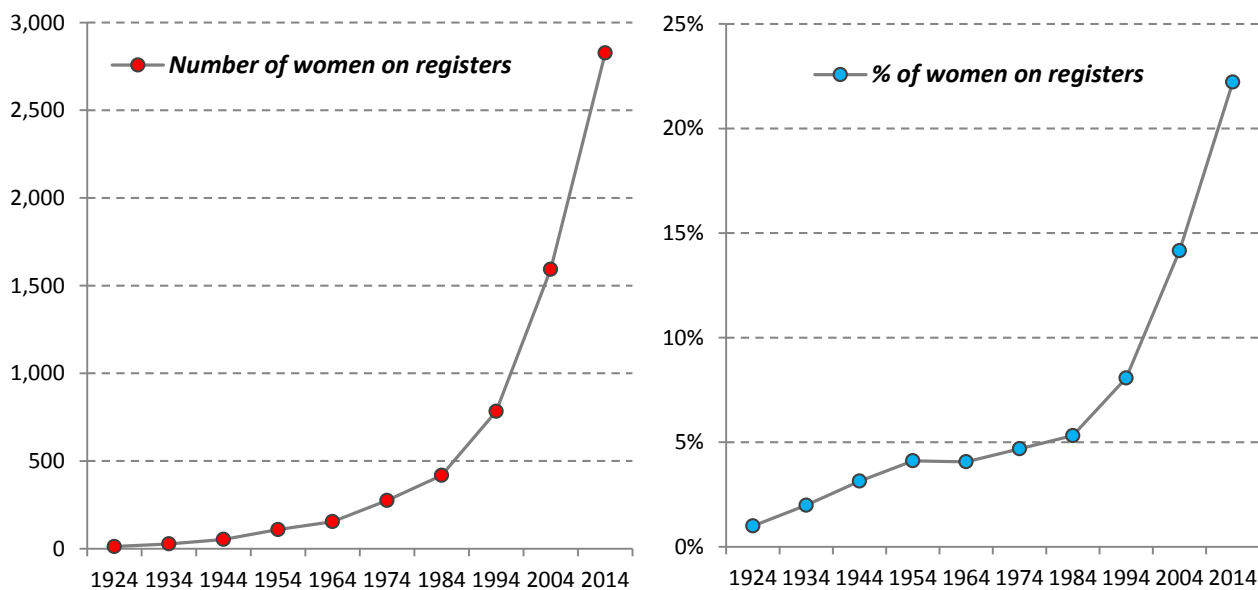


Figure 2-15: Historical Growth of Females on Australian Architects' Registers, 1924–2014

Sources: Visual analysis of data from Willis, "A Statistical Survey"; Whitman, *Going Places*; and Appendix C, Table C-1.

The steep growth patterns reflect the significantly higher graduation rates for women after the late 1980s (Figure 2-4).⁹² New South Wales (NSW) provides the age profile of registered architects in that state. In 2012, over three-quarters of the registered women were *under* the age of fifty, while 60% of the men were *over* that age.⁹³ Women formed 40% of the NSW register in the 30–39 age range, which matched their approximate graduation rate, but their share of the 40–49 age group dropped to under their graduation rate. Although it is not possible to extrapolate from this data to the rest of the country (the state attracts architects from all over Australia, as well as the world), it does suggest that there will continue to be impressive growth for women on the registers.

On and Off the Registers

Of more importance, then, is the proportion of women among those who become newly registered each year.⁹⁴ Averaged for the years 2008–2012, women comprised 32% of new admissions to the registers, with the highest annual level being 35%. Although this is a high enough rate to be

⁹⁰ Julie Willis, *A Statistical Survey of Registered Women Architects in Australia* (Adelaide: University of South Australia, 1997), 31–32.

⁹¹ For this chart only, in order to show decade-by-decade growth, 2014 figures were sought from the Boards in August; see Appendix C, Table C-1.

⁹² Page 5 of this thesis.

⁹³ NSWARB, *Annual Report 2011–2012*: 15.

⁹⁴ See Appendix C, Table C-2.

increasing the numbers of women on the registers year on year, as shown in Figure 2-15, it is a proportion under the average graduation rate of 41% for the preceding fifteen years. In the UK, data likewise “indicated too small an increase in numbers of women architects [registering] post qualification.”⁹⁵

Haarhoff’s tracking of graduates in New Zealand found that women were significantly less likely to register than men (17% of the women and 27% of the men had registered; women were 37% of the graduates and 27% of those registered).⁹⁶ Shannon et al completed the same exercise for graduates in South Australia, and also found gender disparity, although not as marked as in New Zealand: 22% of the South Australian women graduates had registered and 27% of the men had; with women comprising 37% of all graduates and 32% of all those who had registered.⁹⁷ While these results cannot necessarily be extrapolated to the whole country, they indicate a definite pattern of variation in the attainment of registration between the genders. Certainly, fewer women are registering than might be predicted from graduation levels, even accounting for the lower proportion of women entering or staying in the profession in the first five years after graduation.

As well as new admissions to the registers, people leave: both retirement and death would cause numbers on the registers to fluctuate. Because, as a group, men have an older age profile than women, this could account for a portion of their reducing numbers on the registers. Willis notes that as men retire, the growth of the relative proportion of women on the registers should rise comparatively fast.⁹⁸ However, maintaining professional indemnity insurance cover and professional identity as an architect may keep people on the registers long after retirement.

However, death and retirement do not explain all the movement. From June 2011 to July 2012 in South Australia, as many women resigned or were removed from the register as those who joined, but more men moved off than on (104 off, forty-nine on).⁹⁹ Although women’s numbers remained the same, their *proportion* increased because of fewer men. In NSW, despite having 212 new admissions from 2011 to 2012, the practising roll actually lifted its overall numbers by only thirty-four, since 178 left.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ Ann de Graft-Johnson, Sandra Manley, and Clara Greed, “The Gender Gap in Architectural Practice: Can We Afford It?” in *People and Culture in Construction: A Reader*, ed. Andrew Dainty, Stuart Green, and Barbara Bagilhole (Abingdon, Oxon: Taylor & Francis, 2007), 173.

⁹⁶ Haarhoff, *Practice and Gender in Architecture, 1987–2008*, 23.

⁹⁷ Shannon et al., “Why Architecture Graduates Do Not Register as Architects.” This study covered 1999–2011, a shorter period than the NZ study.

⁹⁸ Willis, *A Statistical Survey*: 11.

⁹⁹ APBSA, *Annual Report, 2012* (Adelaide: Architecture Practice Board of South Australia, 2012), 13, <http://www.archboardsa.org.au/assets/PdfList/2012-Annual-Report.pdf>.

¹⁰⁰ APBSA, *Annual Report 2011–2012*: 15.

The extent to which people move on and off the registers can also be seen in historical UK data shown in Table 2-13 (data are not available by gender).¹⁰¹

Table 2-13: UK Architects Register, Additions and Subtractions, 1991–2013

	Off the register				On the register			Nett gain/loss	As a % of the full register				
	Deaths	Resign	Remove	Total	Reinstate	New	Total		Deaths	Resign	Remove/Reinstate	New	Growth
1991	157	935	613	1,705	129	918	1,047	-658					
1992	144	495	595	1,234	281	700	981	-253	0.5%	1.6%	1.0%	2.2%	-0.8%
1993	119	416	812	1,347	204	610	814	-533	0.4%	1.3%	2.0%	2.0%	-1.7%
1994	121	355	424	900	246	572	818	-82	0.4%	1.2%	0.6%	1.9%	-0.3%
1995	123	370	402	895	206	691	897	2	0.4%	1.2%	0.6%	2.3%	0.0%
1996	138	193	395	726	229	765	994	268	0.5%	0.6%	0.5%	2.5%	0.9%
1997	119	323	447	889	187	507	694	-195	0.4%	1.1%	0.8%	1.6%	-0.6%
1998	134	569	208	911	193	811	1,004	93	0.4%	1.9%	0.0%	2.7%	0.3%
1999	132	1,112	586	1,830	149	864	1,013	-817	0.4%	3.6%	1.4%	2.8%	-2.7%
2000	101	380	727	1,208	304	980	1,707	76	0.3%	1.3%	1.4%	3.3%	0.3%
2001	77	480	892	1,449	518	1,265	1,783	334	0.3%	1.6%	1.3%	4.2%	1.1%
2002	121	657	722	1,500	412	1,124	1,536	36	0.4%	2.2%	1.0%	3.7%	0.1%
2003	98	610	585	1,293	289	1,128	1,417	124	0.3%	2.0%	1.0%	3.7%	0.4%
2004	81	486	615	1,182	351	1,115	1,466	284	0.3%	1.6%	0.9%	3.7%	0.9%
2005	100	472	638	1,210	425	1,146	1,571	361	0.3%	1.5%	0.7%	3.7%	1.2%
2006	70	438	651	1,159	493	1,285	1,778	619	0.2%	1.4%	0.5%	4.2%	2.0%
2007	74	429	680	1,183	502	1,391	1,893	710	0.2%	1.4%	0.6%	4.4%	2.3%
2008	85	719	747	1,551	550	1,496	2,046	495	0.3%	2.2%	0.6%	4.6%	1.5%
2009	65	768	819	1,652	509	1,377	1,886	234	0.2%	2.3%	0.9%	4.2%	0.7%
2010	78	746	853	1,677	542	1,261	1,803	126	0.2%	2.3%	0.9%	3.8%	0.4%
2011	49	504	792	1,345	582	1,244	1,826	481	0.1%	1.5%	0.6%	3.8%	1.5%
2012	75	664	750	1,489	633	1,481	2,114	625	0.2%	2.0%	0.3%	4.4%	1.9%
2013	66	917	1,358	2,341	1,031	1,504	2,535	194	0.2%	2.7%	1.0%	4.4%	0.6%
Total	2,327	13,038	15,311	30,676	9,388	24,235	33,623	2,947	0.3%	1.7%	0.9%	3.4%	0.4%
% total	8%	43%	50%		28%	72%			Average yearly				

Source: Data compiled from UK Architects Registration Board “Annual Reports, 2000–2013.”

Over the twenty years shown, death accounted for an average 8% of the total losses for the register. Half were removed, primarily due to non-payment of annual fees, but a small number would have breached registration rules.¹⁰² An average 61% of those removed were reinstated, indicating that, despite the work involved in becoming registered, a significant proportion (39%) chose to not maintain their registration. An even greater number (13,038) simply resigned, which might have been for retirement, but not necessarily so. While new registrations added to the register each year by an average of 3.4%, this figure was reduced markedly by the losses of death, resignation, and those who did not reinstate after removal, so that the average yearly growth was just 0.4%.

¹⁰¹ UKARB, “Annual Reports,” *Architects Registration Board UK*, accessed March 2014, <http://www.arb.org.uk/annual-report>.

¹⁰² This is relatively rare. Each case merits individual attention in the annual reports.

Australia does not have equivalent data; however, Table 2-14 shows a calculation combining data from the registers and new admissions for most of the states since 2004 in a manner similar to that used for estimating potential and actual growth to the Census architecture workforce in Table 2-4.

Table 2-14: Estimation of Gains and Losses to the Registers, 2004–2012

	Female	Male	Total	% Female
2004 Registers count*	1,490	8,776	10,266	14.5%
New to registers 2004 to 2012	1,578	3,551	5,129	30.8%
Expected total	3,068	12,327	15,395	19.9%
Actual 2012 Registers count *	2,265	8,492	10,757	21.1%
Difference (loss)	803	3,835	4,638	17.3%
Nett increase	775	-284	491	
% Additions since 2004	106%	40%	50%	
% Losses since 2004	54%	44%	45%	
% Nett gain	52%	-3%	5%	

Sources: Data derived from Whitman, *Going Places*, 31; Table 2-11; and Appendix C, Table C-2.

Note: * Adjusted to remove SA and TAS as insufficient admissions data available.

However, where Table 2-4 showed women *not* maintaining their share of the workforce compared to their potential growth, in this case, women’s actual share of the registers was *above* that projected. This suggests two things: first, that women, although not entering the registers in proportions equivalent to their graduation, are staying registered once they have achieved it. They are maintaining the human capital that O’Neil et al identify as so important for women’s careers.¹⁰³ Second, the spectacular growth of women on the registers (Figure 2-15) is boosted by men leaving: men are not replacing themselves. Women are, nonetheless, leaving the registers. If no women had left, then their numbers would have more than doubled from 2004 to 2012 (from 1,490 to 3,068), but a number equal to just over half the number of new women registrants moved off the registers (803). Once again, the younger overall age profile of women suggests that those who leave the registers are doing so at a younger age than men.

Cuff calls registration a “rite of transition,” marking the moment when an individual can be legally called an architect and work independently.¹⁰⁴ Although she notes that registration does not guarantee career advancement, it has cultural and legal importance. Given that registration is a key moment in the process of becoming an architect, the fluidity of the registers is surprising. What, then, are the perceptions surrounding registration that render it both important enough that it represents the official count of architects, but seemingly also relatively easy to relinquish? Chapter

¹⁰³ O’Neil, Hopkins, and Bilimoria, “Women’s Careers,” 733.

¹⁰⁴ Cuff, *Architecture*, 153.

6 addresses this question. It needs to be noted that leaving the active registers does not necessarily mean someone is no longer working in architecture—just as not ever being registered does not mean never working as an architect. Some architects would also move to the non-practising register in states where that option is available.

Registered to Not-Registered

Further complicating the counting of registered architects (and registration's ability to represent the profession) is the federal system in Australia. Each state has its own registration board, and to produce work in a state requires registration in that state. Therefore, some architects might be multiply registered (the same architect could be counted up to eight times in the figures given in Table 2-11). Willis estimates that such entries would not exceed 10% of the registers, and also observes that women were rarely multiply registered at the time she examined them.¹⁰⁵ Applications to register in another state also account for a percentage of all new admissions; for New South Wales, that figure was around one-quarter in 2012.¹⁰⁶ Equally, deregistering from another state would contribute to an unknown percentage of losses. Because of this, women's share of registered architects and of new admissions is possibly higher than that detailed in Table 2-11 and Table C-2 (Appendix C).

Accounting for these duplications has previously been almost impossible, but, in September 2012, the AACA published a single combined register for Australia for the first time.¹⁰⁷ Because the names were collated alphabetically and with address information, those individuals who were multiply registered were able to be identified. In addition, it was possible to remove those listed as living overseas. Thus, for the first time, a relatively clean count of registered architects living and working in Australia (Table 2-15) was possible.¹⁰⁸ Duplicates accounted for 13% of the active register. Men were indeed more likely to be multiply registered than women (as Willis suggested):¹⁰⁹ 6% of the women's entries were multiples, compared with 17% of the men's. As predicted above, by removing multiply registered architects, women's share of registered architects increases to 21.4%.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ Willis, *A Statistical Survey*: 9.

¹⁰⁶ NSWARB, *Annual Report 2011–2012*: 15.

¹⁰⁷ "Architects Rolls," *Architects Accreditation Council of Australia*, 2012, accessed September 2012, <http://www.aaca.org.au/architect-rolls/>. This page has since been removed.

¹⁰⁸ Cleaning the data involved determining which entries were double-ups and what gender individuals were. All determination by author, October 2012, and checked by Chandana Rajanna, December 2013. See also Gill Matthewson, "Counting Registered Architects: No Easy Matter," *Parlour*, January 9, 2013, <http://archiparlour.org/counting-registered-architects-no-easy-matter/>.

¹⁰⁹ Willis, *A Statistical Survey*: 9.

¹¹⁰ This is still an approximate figure as there are possible flaws in the data. Prior to 'cleaning', the gross figures for the AACA register had a lower percentage of women than the Board-obtained figures in Table 2-11 (see Appendix C, Table C-3): 19.8%

Table 2-15: Registered Architects in Australia (AACA), 2012

					Distribution % of total		
	Female	Male	Total	%Female	Female	Male	Total
ACT	41	177	218	18.8%	2%	2%	2%
NSW	752	2361	3113	24.2%	35%	30%	31%
NT	22	67	89	24.7%	1%	1%	1%
QLD	427	1665	2092	20.4%	20%	21%	21%
SA	105	490	595	17.6%	5%	6%	6%
TAS	37	211	248	14.9%	2%	3%	2%
VIC	586	2115	2701	21.7%	28%	27%	27%
WA	149	718	867	17.2%	7%	9%	9%
	2,119	7,804	9,923	21.4%			

Source: Data derived from “Architects Rolls,” 2012, AACA.

Combining Sources

The three primary data sources (Census, AIA membership, and registration) interrelate. Each has its limitations, but, by cross-referencing between them, it is possible to produce a picture of the shape of the architecture workforce and women’s participation within it. The (relatively) clean registration figures of Table 2-15 enable a comparison with the Census to calculate the approximate proportion of those not (or no longer) registered but nonetheless working in architecture (Figure 2-16).

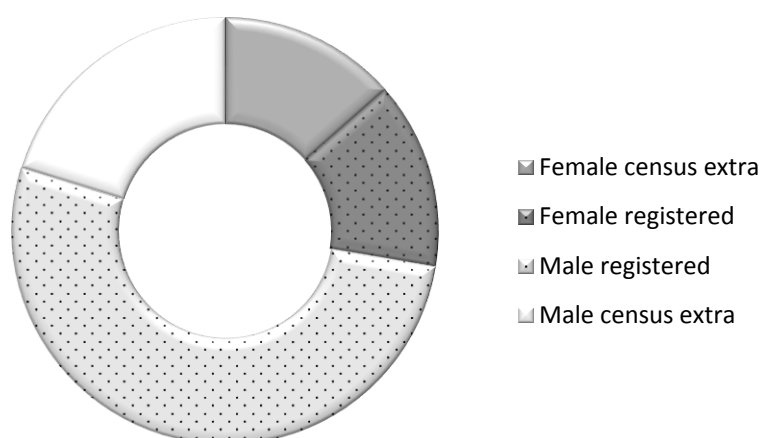


Figure 2-16: Proportion of Workforce Registered, Not-Registered by Sex

Sources: Visual analysis of data from Table 2-15 and Table 2-3.

By this count, not-registered architectural workers accounted just over one-third of the profession, but there was a marked gender differential. Not-registered women were almost half (49%) the female architecture workforce; but not-registered men were only just over one-quarter (28%) of the male workforce. Women therefore comprised 40% of the not-registered, and were less likely to be registered.

compared with 20.5%. This discrepancy is possibly due to the time of year that each source was consulted. However, Victoria had a significant discrepancy in numbers, indicating a problem between their register and the AACA database.

A similar calculation can be undertaken with AIA data for those individuals in membership categories that require registration (Table 2-16).¹¹¹ Overseas members were removed for this table to allow registered membership figures to be comparable to the AACA-generated registered count.

Table 2-16: Registered Architects who are also Members of the AIA, 2012

	Female	Male	Total
Adjusted AIA registered membership categories	1,047	4,412	5,459
Registered architects	2,119	7,804	9,923
% of registered architects who are members of AIA	49%	57%	55%

Sources: Data derived from AIA, 2013 Active Membership; and Table 2-15.

From this it would appear that, at most, around 55% percent of all registered architects belonged to the AIA (this is a similar figure to that found in the US).¹¹² There was again a difference between genders (although slighter than the one for registered to not-registered), where just under half of the registered women and 57% of the registered men were members. These figures are maximum percentages; membership categories requiring registration did not necessarily require *current* registration, and so included those who were no-longer-registered and those who might have passed the exams but had not paid registration fees.¹¹³ Membership of the AIA is therefore a poor indicator of the demographic profile of the profession because of the weak correlation between registered architects who are members as well as the higher rate of membership among owners of architectural companies. Figure 2-17 shows that the proportion of the overall workforce who are registered *and* members of the AIA is just over one-third (36%).

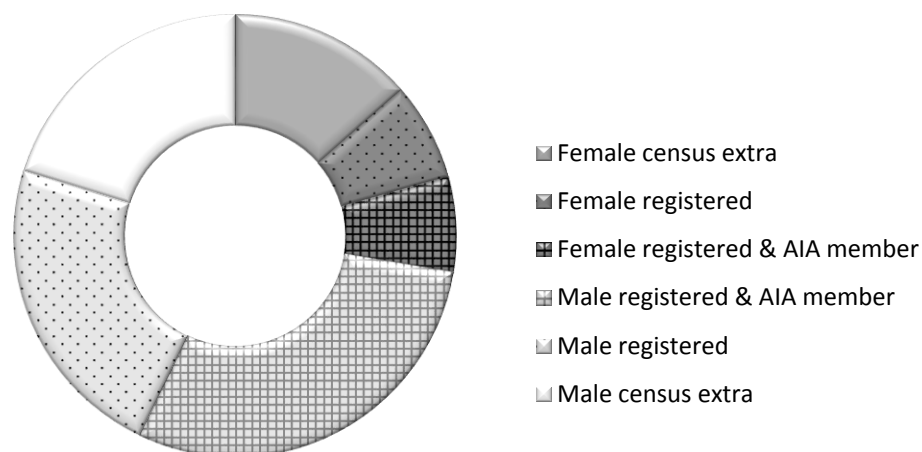


Figure 2-17: Proportion of Workforce Registered, Not-Registered, AIA Membership by Sex

Sources: Visual analysis of data from Table 2-16, Table 2-15, and Table 2-3.

¹¹¹ Membership categories where members are definitely not registered include affiliate, graduate, and student, and they have been excluded from this calculation.

¹¹² Tracy Ostroff, "Demographic Data Analysis Affirms Anecdote and Perception," *AIArchitect*, no. 2 (February 10, 2006), <http://www.afamarchitects.com/Additional%20Pages/Web%20Articles/AIA%20Diversity%20Data%20Analysis.pdf>.

¹¹³ AIA, "Which Membership Type Is Right for You?."

Although the count of registered architects is flawed—because it miscounts the size of the architecture workforce, under-counts women, and because it is remarkably fluid, with significant numbers not maintaining registration throughout their architectural career—it remains an important measure. From the ranks of the registered come the principals/owners and it is from this level that some are lifted into the realm of high repute, status, and influence. Only registered principals can be members of the AIA in the categories that can enter for awards.¹¹⁴ In other words, to *not* be registered affects the ability to engage in the more visible performances of the profession as provided by the AIA; principals are the pool from which the stars of architecture are drawn. Figure 2-18 shows that those in this pool are under one-quarter of the total workforce (23%) and women are 14% of the pool.

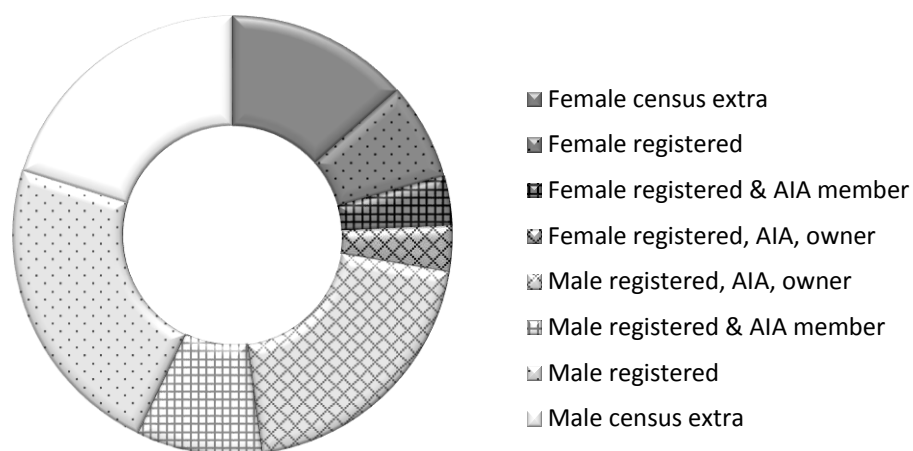


Figure 2-18: Proportion of Workforce Registered, Not-Registered, AIA Membership, Owners by Sex
 Sources: Visual analysis of data from Table 2-16, Table 2-15, Table 2-3, and Table D-1.

Moreover, just 12% of the women are in the pool and 28% of the men. Notably, just two of the fifty-nine recipients of the AIA Gold Medal have been women (3%).¹¹⁵

Conclusion

Sifting through the statistics on the architecture profession in Australia is a complex matter because of the fragmented nature of the data sources, shifts between state and federal systems, and the weak uptake of professional accreditation and membership options. Consequently, measuring women's

¹¹⁴ Entry to awards requires registration, membership of the AIA, and being a principal. "RAIA Policy Book: Policy 13 Awards Prizes and Honours," *Australian Institute of Architects*, 2013, accessed July 2014, <http://www.architecture.com.au/docs/default-source/national-policy/awards-prizes-amp-honours-policy.pdf?sfvrsn=0>. 13.3.2. All architect jurors must be members.

¹¹⁵ The Gold Medal has been awarded since 1960. Women recipients are Brit Andresen in 2002, and Kerry Clare with her husband Lindsay in 2010 (joint awards have been awarded four times). "National Architecture Prizes & Competitions: Gold Medal for Architecture," *Australian Institute of Architects*, accessed December 2014, <http://www.architecture.com.au/events/national/prizes-competitions#goldmedalforarchitecture>.

participation is more complex than a recitation of the often-quoted comparison between basic figures of graduates and registered architects.

In the student period of the process of becoming an architect, women appear to be keeping pace with men. They are choosing to enter architecture degrees at only a slightly lesser proportion than their presence in the population. More importantly, the historic phenomenon of more women than men dropping out of study has virtually disappeared, although it is possible that different schools have different levels of success at achieving this.

The early-entry phase of an architecture career is a different matter. Women enter the profession at a rate less than their graduation rate, and over the duration of early career, that gap increases.

Although the data track both women and men leaving the profession, men leave mid-career and women do so almost immediately on graduation. This period is clearly a point of pressure in the timeline of women's careers in architecture. However, although the pipeline across time starts 'leaking' early for women, it continues to do so, which indicates that pressures continue for women.

Those women who do stay in the architectural workforce are more commonly employees, and, if owners, they are clustered in small businesses, although their share of ownership of larger practices is slowly growing. However, their growth in various metrics is exaggerated by the apparent simultaneous flight of senior men from the profession. Thus, the notion of 'disappearing women' continues to be an accurate depiction of the contemporary architectural profession in Australia, and is, to an extent, masked by this departure by men.

The primary rite of passage in the middle period of an architectural career is registration. Despite a spectacular growth in numbers over time, women are, again, registering at a rate less than their graduation proportion. Women are consequently a greater proportion of the not-registered architectural workforce, which is around one-third of the profession. In this way, women are certainly under-counted by the registration figures commonly used to depict their share of the profession. Moreover, being registered gives architects access to ownership, which, in turn, gives access to the mechanisms the profession uses to reward architectural work. The impact that not registering has on women's career development is that it restricts their ability to move into this most senior phase. Although there are possibly other routes to becoming influential, those supported by the AIA have a national reach and are more established. However, despite the power of the AIA to anoint the successful, there is a markedly low membership rate for registered architects and, again, there is a gender difference, with fewer of the registered women belonging. This gender difference in attaining registration, with its ongoing impact on a woman's career, means that the effects of

registration, and perceptions surrounding it, warrant deeper investigation. This will be addressed in subsequent chapters.

The evolving patterns of women's participation in the architecture profession in Australia revealed in this chapter include women's numbers declining more rapidly than men's across time.

Furthermore, the patterns of ownership and the uptake of professional measures among women vary considerably when compared with those of men. These patterns support the contention expressed in Chapter 1 that the lack of women in architecture in Australia cannot be wholly attributed to a time-lag effect; rather, they indicate that gendering processes shape architectural careers and form different pressures at different stages of women's careers.

These patterns are a useful beginning point, but to investigate them further requires a move beyond numbers and aggregated figures to qualitative methods of inquiry, and to accounts made in the secondary scholarly literature. In light of the patterns and insights revealed in this quantitative account, the next chapter, in surveying the literature on the structural, cultural, interaction, and identity dimensions of the profession and workplaces, builds a base of concepts for the dissertation's later move into the career stories and everyday experiences of individuals working in the profession.

Chapter 3 – Dimensions of the Social Structure of Architecture



Illustration 3-1: Photograph Taken by Nick Bassett in One of the Three Partner Firms in 2012.¹

The picture of women's participation in the architecture profession in Australia detailed in the previous chapter strongly indicates that there are forces and factors affecting their ability to pursue careers in architecture. This dissertation argues that these can be understood by utilising the framework provided by Joan Acker's concept of a gendered substructure that pertains to social structures, including professions.² As argued in Chapter 1, this framework provides a clear way to analyse gender in a social structure. This chapter adapts Acker's taxonomy for its format, describing key elements of the structural, cultural, interactional, and identity dimensions of the social structure of the architecture profession in order to provide detailed background to the framework. The chapter addresses how these dimensions of architecture might allow gendering processes to

¹ This photograph was taken as part of the visual research component of the larger "Equity and Diversity" project. Persons featured in this photograph worked for one of the partner firms in 2012, but their appearance here should not be taken as an indication that they were interviewed for this dissertation—the two components of the research were quite separate.

² Joan Acker, "Gendering Organizational Theory," in *Gendering Organizational Analysis*, ed. Albert Mills and Peta Tancred (Newbury Park, CA: SAGE Publications, 1992), 252–54; Joan Acker, "Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations," *Gender & Society* 4, no. 2 (1990).

manifest, thus affecting women's careers, and the issues that emerge from this discussion will be explored in the chapters that follow.

The first section discusses the structural dimension. Perhaps the most critical structure in architecture is its positioning as a profession, and characteristics of a profession are outlined. While architecture parallels other professions, it also has distinguishing elements that, this thesis argues, make it particularly vulnerable to gendering processes.

Architecture is generally considered to be a creative pursuit.³ This understanding, while having structural implications, also has a profound effect on the symbolic or cultural dimension of the social structure of architecture. This is the second dimension, and comprises the second section of the chapter. Being a creative worker involves a number of often hidden gender assumptions, and these add to the gender-based stereotypes and biases that affect how all women and their work are perceived.

Like Acker, Julia Evetts proposes that structural and cultural dimensions are distinct; however, she acknowledges that they are mutually supporting and reinforcing, sometimes difficult to disentangle.⁴ Evetts asserts that, together, they articulate “the *difficulties* for and *determinants* of women's careers, as well as the *continuation* and *reproduction* of gender differences in career achievement.”⁵ They form the context, and every woman (and man) draws on their own resources—which are mediated and formed by social background, upbringing, experiences, education, and training (which all contribute to constituting their identity)—to interact with the constraints and opportunities of the context. Accordingly, the third and fourth dimensions of the framework are interaction and identity. The third section of the chapter discusses how interactions between individuals within career contexts can create alliances and exclusions. In particular, a common tendency to associate with like-minded people has ongoing implications for women in a profession. The fourth section covers the dynamic nature of identity construction, and its importance for women persisting and progressing within a professional career. Any profession involves the formation of a professional identity and this identity interacts with a gender identity.

The final section of the chapter details why a multi-dimensional approach to considering gender is important. To focus on only one dimension is to imply that only that dimension matters, and risks

³ Magali Sarfatti Larson, “Emblem and Exception: The Historical Definition of the Architect's Professional Role,” in *Professionals and Urban Form*, ed. Judith Blau, Mark La Gory, and John S. Pipkin (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983), 75–76.

⁴ Julia Evetts, “Analysing Change in Women's Careers: Culture, Structure and Action Dimensions,” *Gender, Work & Organization* 7, no. 1 (2000): 59.

⁵ Ibid., 62, original emphasis.

obscuring or dismissing critical factors in gendering processes. The dimensions are too interconnected to permit such a single focus, as the section will explain.

The Structural Dimension

This section discusses the structural dimension of architecture, the most important aspect of which for this study is its framing as a profession. This framing was explained in Chapter 1 as being important to architects,⁶ but it also significantly contributes its gendered substructure. The section explores the consequences of this frame, from the conflicting definitions of what a profession means to the exclusion that underpins any profession to what it means to be a professional. The section then moves to discuss how architecture can be considered exceptional as a profession.

Architecture as a Profession

Although architecture claims an ancient history, it was only formalised as a profession in the nineteenth century. Until then, Andrew Saint asserts, architecture in the UK was the province of some talented amateurs, but predominantly building-craftsmen, who both designed and built structures.⁷ (As a former British colony, the Australian architecture profession descends from this history.) Economic growth and industrialisation resulted in more complex buildings and building regulations, and, together, these exceeded the capacity of the existing system. Thus, design as a “literate and highly esteemed skill” separated to become the domain of the architect.⁸ To acquire this skill required education, and one of the hallmarks of a profession is that it is an occupation based in specialised, complex, and esoteric knowledge and skills learned via a lengthy period of tertiary education.⁹

Definitions of professions claim other hallmarks, some of which are contested,¹⁰ including vocation, self-regulation, high status, and civility.¹¹ The status claim has its origins in the nineteenth century when the emerging middle-class occupations, including architecture, sought to become professions in order to attain the gentleman status associated with the much older trio of learned professions: law, medicine, and the clergy.¹² At this time, as Daniel Duman argues, a “moral imperative” of

⁶ Page 13 of this thesis.

⁷ Andrew Saint, *The Image of the Architect* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 57.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 58.

⁹ Julia Evetts, “Sociological Analysis of Professionalism: Past, Present and Future,” *Comparative Sociology* 10, no. 1 (2011): 5.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 3; Mats Alvesson, “De-Essentializing the Knowledge Intensive Firm: Reflections on Sceptical Research Going Against the Mainstream,” *Journal of Management Studies* 48, no. 7 (2011): 1651.

¹¹ Mats Alvesson, *Knowledge Work and Knowledge-Intensive Firms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 32.

¹² Eliot Freidson, “The Theory of the Professions: State of the Art,” in *The Sociology of the Professions: Lawyers, Doctors, and Others*, ed. Robert Dingwall and Philip S. C. Lewis (London: Macmillan, 1983), 24.

service to society developed and became “an article of faith” because it justified superior status.¹³ It also “provided an intellectual framework in which the professions could become the essential service occupations without their members becoming a class of servants.”¹⁴ Becoming a profession was, in part, a class strategy.¹⁵ Rosemary Crompton simply calls it “a classic case of the use of credentialism and individualistic exclusion rules to control entry to valued positions in society.”¹⁶

Evetts argues that, at best, the professions are a useful and “uniquely desirable method of regulating, monitoring and providing complex services to the public” and, at worst, an “ideology [leading to] market closure and monopoly control of work.”¹⁷ Because of this ambiguity, Evetts proposes that two other conceptualisations are more useful: professionalisation and professionalism.¹⁸ Professionalisation is the process by which an occupation becomes a profession, with new occupations willingly proceeding with it in order to attain status.¹⁹ As an ongoing and dynamic process, professionalisation takes into account how professions maintain themselves and how they adjust to changing historical and jurisdictional specificities.²⁰

The concept of professionalism additionally takes into consideration occupational norms as well as discourse, and therefore encompasses the social, cultural, and economic consequences of claims to being professional.²¹ Professionalism is socially valued and, as Evetts argues, has importance in the “development and maintenance of work identities, career decisions and senses of self.”²² In a review of historical understandings of professionalism, Maria Martimianakis et al describe how earlier conceptualisations emphasised traits of altruism and roles governed by disinterest, rather than self-interest.²³ More recent conceptualisations have focussed on the strong power dynamics within a professional field; who decides what is and is not ‘professional,’ and how.²⁴ Martimianakis

¹³ Cited in Gordon Horobin, “Professional Mystery: The Maintenance of Charisma in the General Medical Practice,” in *The Sociology of the Professions*, 90.

¹⁴ Daniel Duman, “The Creation and Diffusion of a Professional Ideology in Nineteenth Century England,” *The Sociological Review* 27, no. 1 (1979): 131.

¹⁵ Bridget Fowler and Fiona Wilson, “Women Architects and Their Discontents,” *Sociology* 38, no. 1 (2004): 104.

¹⁶ Rosemary Crompton, “Gender, Status and Professionalism,” *Sociology* 21, no. 3 (1987): 420. Also Magali Sarfatti Larson, *The Rise of Professionalism: A Sociological Analysis* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977). George Bernard Shaw described professions as a “conspiracy against the laity”; cited in Howard Gardner and Lee S. Shulman, “The Professions in America Today: Crucial but Fragile,” *Daedalus* 134, no. 3 (2005): 13.

¹⁷ Evetts, “Sociological Analysis of Professionalism,” 10. See also Celia Davies, “The Sociology of Professions and the Profession of Gender,” *Sociology* 30, no. 4 (1996): 669.

¹⁸ Evetts, “Sociological Analysis of Professionalism,” 6.

¹⁹ Freidson, “The Theory of the Professions: State of the Art.”

²⁰ Mike Saks, “Defining a Profession: The Role of Knowledge and Expertise,” *Professions & Professionalism* 2, no. 1 (2012): 5.

²¹ Evetts, “Sociological Analysis of Professionalism,” 7. See also Valérie Fournier, “The Appeal to ‘Professionalism’ as a Disciplinary Mechanism,” *The Sociological Review* 47, no. 2 (1999).

²² Evetts, “Sociological Analysis of Professionalism,” 7.

²³ Maria Athina Martimianakis, Jerry M. Maniate, and Brian David Hodges, “Sociological Interpretations of Professionalism,” *Medical Education* 43 (2009): 831.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 833.

et al summarise four conditions of professionalism: the ways in which it is constructed is central to identity; it is not static; it is formed by a “nexus of power” with elements of gender, race, and class; and the actions of professionals have far-reaching consequences.²⁵ The first and third of these are particularly important for the architecture profession, and thus for this thesis.

Debra Coleman, following Susan Bordo, maintains that many women have thought professionalism—with its ideals of neutrality, rigour, integrity, and altruism—would be a natural and formidable barrier to gender-based inequity.²⁶ However, she argues that the egalitarian promise of professionalism is not possible within a society that is fundamentally structured by gender distinctions and inequities (as Acker also maintains). Nor are they possible within professions that are founded on gender exclusion.

The Exclusiveness of Professions

Anne Witz clearly delineates how, historically, professionalisation involved not just class but also gender exclusion.²⁷ The process of becoming a ‘gentleman’ professional necessarily included conceptualising women as ‘ladies,’ which contributed to framing women as unsuitable for the professions. Despina Stratigakos details this for architecture in her depiction of the public image of women architects at the beginning of the twentieth century in Germany revealing that the architect was consistently portrayed as masculine in body and mind.²⁸ Coupled with cultural conceptions of femininity, this portrayal meant women were profoundly unable to be seen as architects.

Where once the professions excluded women outright from entry, there are now a series of internal gender-exclusion mechanisms.²⁹ According to Celia Davies, in the twenty-first century, it is more a matter of *how* women are included. She argues that inclusion takes place within “a discourse of gender” at the centre of professionalisation.³⁰ Furthermore, Camilla Stivers maintains that professional expertise is very often described in ‘masculine’ terms, such as “objectivity, an assertion of autonomy, hierarchicalism and the norm of brotherhood among the members.”³¹ Sharon Bolton and Daniel Muzio document the means by which different professions have adapted to the entry of

²⁵ Ibid., 836.

²⁶ Debra Coleman, “Introduction,” in *Architecture and Feminism*, ed. Carol Henderson, Elizabeth Danze, and Debra Coleman (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996), xi.

²⁷ Anne Witz, *Professions and Patriarchy* (London: Routledge, 1992).

²⁸ Despina Stratigakos, “Architect in Skirts: The Public Image of Women Architects in Wilhelmine Germany,” *Journal of Architectural Education* 55, no. 2 (2001).

²⁹ Sharon Bolton and Daniel Muzio, “The Paradoxical Processes of Feminization in the Professions: The Case of Established, Aspiring and Semi-Professions,” *Work, Employment & Society* 22, no. 2 (2008): 287.

³⁰ Davies, “The Sociology of Professions,” 663.

³¹ Cited in Mats Alvesson and Yvonne Due Billing, *Understanding Gender and Organizations*, 2nd ed. (London: SAGE Publications, 2009), 79.

women.³² Each profession, they argue, although using different tactics, realises a common purpose to marginalise women and exploit their work. Bolton and Muzio identify two tactics in particular. The first is stratification, whereby the work of predominantly female juniors supports the earnings and privileges of mainly male seniors.³³ In this way, women become a *resource* for professions.³⁴ The second is segregation, where women are found in less prestigious firms or specialisations—locations that limit career progression.³⁵

In their study of women in architecture across three countries, Valerie Caven et al clearly find examples of segregation and stratification; women were valued for being organised and responsible hard workers (particularly in Spain), but were often confined to the office and thus prevented from developing the necessary skills for career advancement.³⁶ They argue that increasing numbers of women in architecture represents a ‘feminisation’ not on equal terms, but in relation to lower-level architectural tasks.³⁷ Bridget Fowler and Fiona Wilson come to the same conclusion arguing that shifts in the gender balance of architecture to accommodate women are shifts that maintain men in positions of privilege and status.³⁸ The slow growth of women in leadership positions revealed in Chapter 2 suggests that something similar may be occurring in Australia.

The Time Demands of a Professional

The ideal of service in the professions that Duman delineates has continuing implications.³⁹ Evetts argues that once the label ‘professional’ is invoked, limits on time or effort are ideologically ‘unprofessional,’ because unlimited commitment of time is fundamental to all professionals.⁴⁰ She documents a process where employers effectively imposed professionalisation on some sectors of employees.⁴¹ Although the employees often welcomed this move—perceiving it to increase status—Evetts notes the outcome was usually downgraded work conditions. Similarly, Valérie Fournier

³² Bolton and Muzio, “Paradoxical Processes,” 286.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid., 283. Thornton similarly describes law as “hardening the line of demarcation between the apex and the base of the organisational pyramid.” Margaret Thornton, “The Mirage of Merit: Reconstituting the ‘Ideal Academic,’” *Australian Feminist Studies* 28, no. 76 (2013): 128.

³⁵ Bolton and Muzio, “Paradoxical Processes,” 289.

³⁶ Valerie Caven, Elena Navarro-Astor, and Marie Diop, “A Cross-National Study of Accommodating and ‘Usurpatory’ Practices by Women Architects in the UK, Spain and France,” *Architectural Theory Review* 17, no. 2–3 (2012): 372. This paternalism is also identified by Ann de Graft-Johnson, Sandra Manley, and Clara Greed, *Why Do Women Leave Architecture?* (Bristol: Royal Institute of British Architects, University of West England, 2003), 3, www.riba.org/fileLibrary/pdf/WWLAFinalreportJune03.pdf.

³⁷ Caven, Navarro-Astor, and Diop, “A Cross-National Study,” 374.

³⁸ Fowler and Wilson, “Women Architects,” 117; Bolton and Muzio, “Paradoxical Processes,” 285.

³⁹ Duman, “The Creation and Diffusion of a Professional Ideology,” 131.

⁴⁰ Evetts, “Sociological Analysis of Professionalism,” 13.

⁴¹ Ibid.

demonstrates that the label ‘professional’ can act as a disciplinary mechanism, particularly around appropriate identities and behaviours.⁴²

Cynthia Epstein and Arne Kalleberg record that, historically, only the professions of medicine and the military demanded high time-availability and commitment, but that demand has now spread to other professions.⁴³ Long hours in architecture were confirmed by the analysis of the Census in the last chapter,⁴⁴ and are a particular feature of work in the twenty-first century. David Langford et al maintain that they have become not just the norm, but a coercive norm.⁴⁵ In their study of middle managers, David and Margaret Collinson conclude that, because of the difficulties in assessing and quantifying professional work, long hours and consequent workplace visibility might be “important substitutes for ability measures.”⁴⁶ Jacqueline Watts also finds that long hours—and consequent visibility or presenteeism—in the engineering profession hold symbolic significance and act as “proxies for excellence and commitment.”⁴⁷ This recipe for success is an extreme version of the ideal worker discussed in Chapter 1, and results in the stigmatisation of part-time work among professionals.⁴⁸ This attitude particularly affects women because, as discussed in the ‘Women’s Careers’ section of Chapter 1, women are more likely to work on a part-time basis.

How much time is spent on paid work has always been set by social norms and traditions, and, as with all socially constructed norms, these shift across times and cultures.⁴⁹ As such, time use does not escape being gendered, and is therefore implicated in the construction of the gendered substructure of the profession. In her extensive summary of the literature of women working in non-traditional occupations, Barbara Bagilhole concludes that long hours are indicative of stamina, and reflect a ‘masculine’ work culture because stamina and strength pertain to the male body.⁵⁰ Hilary Sommerlad describes this in the law profession as the “macho mythologizing of the heroic value of

⁴² Fournier, “The Appeal to ‘Professionalism’.”

⁴³ Cynthia Fuchs Epstein and Arne Kalleberg, “Time and the Sociology of Work: Issues and Implications,” *Work and Occupations* 28, no. 1 (2001): 8.

⁴⁴ Page 48 of this thesis.

⁴⁵ Cited in Jacqueline H. Watts, “Porn, Pride and Pessimism: Experiences of Women Working in Professional Construction Roles,” *Work, Employment & Society* 21, no. 2 (2007): 300.

⁴⁶ David L. Collinson and Margaret Collinson, “The Power of Time: Leadership, Management, and Gender,” in *Fighting for Time: Shifting Boundaries of Work and Social Life*, ed. Cynthia Fuchs Epstein and Arne Kalleberg (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2004), 237. Also noted by Renee Landers et al., cited in Ashly Pinnington and Timothy Morris, “Transforming the Architect: Ownership Form and Archetype Change,” *Organization Studies* 23, no. 2 (2002): 193.

⁴⁷ Jacqueline H. Watts, “‘Allowed into a Man’s World’ Meanings of Work–Life Balance: Perspectives of Women Civil Engineers as ‘Minority’ Workers in Construction,” *Gender, Work & Organization* 16, no. 1 (2009): 54.

⁴⁸ Cynthia Fuchs Epstein et al., cited in Mary Blair-Loy, “Work Devotion and Work Time,” in *Fighting for Time*, 284.

⁴⁹ Epstein and Kalleberg, “Time and the Sociology of Work,” 5.

⁵⁰ Barbara Bagilhole, *Women in Non-Traditional Occupations: Challenging Men* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 63.

working long hours.”⁵¹ Similarly, Collinson and Collinson observe that the sacrifice of time is understood as confirmation of a masculine and hierarchical identity.⁵²

In contrast, Watts argues that time demands have been steadily increasing, and asserts that this is effectively a ‘re’-masculinisation of the workplace.⁵³ Bolton and Muzio find that ‘commitment’ is increasingly an essential element for success in the legal profession, and manifests as “the enthusiastic embrace of the long hours culture and the readiness to prioritize career over the private sphere.”⁵⁴ Each of these is compromised for people with domestic obligations—predominantly women. The gendered division of labour and the traditional career model described in Chapter 1 both posit women as the prime (and ‘natural’) carer of children and, as Belinda Probert notes, “the revolution in expectations about women’s labour market participation seems to have occurred without any corresponding revolution in the care of children and the domestic sphere.”⁵⁵ In Australia, women spend two-and-a-half times the amount of time caring for children that men do.⁵⁶ Because high work commitment demands tend to exclude those with other commitments, the inexorable rise of time demands can be viewed as a mechanism to exclude women moving into male-dominated occupational areas.

Consequently, women with children are often disadvantaged in a professional career. Research by Torsten Biemann et al demonstrates that employers interpret a woman with a family as having lesser career commitment.⁵⁷ Joan Williams calls the impact of having children on the progress of a career “the maternal wall” so effectively does it block advancement and opportunities.⁵⁸ This is supported by extensive research cited by Alice Eagly and Linda Carli that reveals how the expectation and reality that women undertake the bulk of domestic work impedes their career progression.⁵⁹ Lotte Bailyn simply regards the early-professional career as structured to be in “maximum conflict with the family career.”⁶⁰ Although, as Lisa Adkins notes, it is now the expected

⁵¹ Cited in Sharon Bolton and Daniel Muzio, “Can’t Live with ‘Em; Can’t Live without ‘Em: Gendered Segmentation in the Legal Profession,” *Sociology* 41, no. 1 (2007): 56.

⁵² Collinson and Collinson, “The Power of Time,” 231.

⁵³ Jacqueline H. Watts, “Leaders of Men: Women ‘Managing’ in Construction,” *Work, Employment & Society* 23, no. 3 (2009): 512.

⁵⁴ Bolton and Muzio, “Can’t Live with ‘Em,” 56.

⁵⁵ Belinda Probert, “‘Grateful Slaves’ or ‘Self-Made Women’: A Matter of Choice or Policy?” *Australian Feminist Studies* 17, no. 37 (2002): 15. Also Andrew Dainty and Helen Lingard, “Indirect Discrimination in Construction Organizations and the Impact on Women’s Careers,” *Journal of Management in Engineering* 22, no. 3 (2006): 109.

⁵⁶ ABS 2006 Census figures cited in Wendy Patton, *Conceptualising Women’s Working Lives: Moving the Boundaries of Discourse* (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2013), 4.

⁵⁷ Torsten Biemann, Hannes Zacher, and Daniel Feldman, “Career Patterns: A Twenty-Year Panel Study,” *Journal of Vocational Behavior* 81, no. 2 (2012): 162.

⁵⁸ Joan Williams, “The Glass Ceiling and the Maternal Wall in Academia,” *New Directions for Higher Education* 2005, no. 130 (2005).

⁵⁹ Alice H. Eagly and Linda L. Carli, *Through the Labyrinth: The Truth About How Women Become Leaders* (Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press, 2007), 49.

⁶⁰ Lotte Bailyn, “Time in Careers—Careers in Time,” *Human Relations* 57, no. 12 (2004): 1514.

norm for young women to become wage earners, once they have children, the expectation reverts to traditional views of woman as home-maker.⁶¹ Accordingly, Williams observes that women and men are caught in “force-fields” that push them into traditional roles.⁶² As argued in Chapter 1, family structure and attitudes have a significant impact on women’s careers.⁶³ Furthermore, people who break from the traditional roles face societal resistance (although this changes over time). Epstein describes “men who do not focus on work first, or women who do, are making personal choices that run counter to the norms and face disapproval from their peers in and out of the workplace.”⁶⁴

In addition, changing ideas and ideals around child-rearing have aggravated tensions over time-use. According to Jerry Jacobs and Kathleen Gerson, the domestic realm has seen increasing expectations, especially within middle-class families, around parenting, with greater quality-time requirements than previous generations.⁶⁵ They argue that it is therefore in dual-income professional households with dependent children where time tensions are most strongly felt. Williams considers that mothers are trapped in the 24/7 expectations that adhere to both the ideal worker and the ideal mother.⁶⁶ She also comments that women internalise these ideals and this can be corrosively divisive between women: “each woman judges women more work-centred than herself as insensitive to her children’s needs, and those less work-centred as having ‘dropped out’ or ‘given up.’”⁶⁷ The time and commitment expectations of professionals intersect with wider societal expectations for women with families, affecting their ability to maintain a career. Architecture is unlikely to be different.

The Exceptionalism of Architecture as a Profession

The Australian Institute of Architects (AIA) website states that “Architecture brings together the arts, environmental awareness, sciences and technology [...] An architect combines creative design with a wide range of technical knowledge.”⁶⁸ Ashly Pinnington and Timothy Morris argue that internal disputes over the degree to which architectural knowledge is codifiable (technical) or

⁶¹ Lisa Adkins, “Feminism after Measure,” *Feminist Theory* 10, no. 3 (2009): 330.

⁶² Joan Williams, *Unbending Gender: Why Family and Work Conflict and What to Do About It* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 276.

⁶³ Page 14 of this thesis.

⁶⁴ Cited in Epstein and Kalleberg, “Time and the Sociology of Work,” 10.

⁶⁵ Jerry A. Jacobs and Kathleen Gerson, “Understanding Changes in American Working Time: A Synthesis,” in *Fighting for Time*, 36. Also noted in Eagly and Carli, *Through the Labyrinth*, 53.

⁶⁶ Williams, “The Glass Ceiling,” 99.

⁶⁷ Williams, *Unbending Gender*, 147. In a later book, Williams calls this ‘the tug of war’; Joan Williams and Rachel Dempsey, *What Works for Women at Work: Four Patterns Working Women Need to Know* (New York: New York University Press, 2014), 180.

⁶⁸ “Becoming an Architect,” *Australian Institute of Architects*, accessed July 2014, <http://www.architecture.com.au/architecture/national/becoming-an-architect>.

indeterminate (artistic and therefore non-codifiable) have long sabotaged its coherence.⁶⁹ Likewise, John Cullen observes that the process of professionalising is a process towards standardisation, but standardisation is contrary to creative work.⁷⁰ This pluralism and prevarication mean that architecture has not always aligned with the ‘classic’ conception of professions. Magali Larson simply calls architecture an “exceptional profession,” arguing that it is this identification as an artistic and creative pursuit that separates it from others.⁷¹ This ‘exceptionalism’ has implications for women.

Judith Blau lists architecture’s differences to the benchmark professions of law and medicine.⁷² First, its importance to the public is much less than law’s and medicine’s claims to directly protect the individual. Architecture is also more deeply aligned with corporate elites, providing services to the rich and powerful, and so claims of public service are less evident. While the knowledge bases of law and medicine grow more-or-less incrementally through precedent and scientific methodology respectively, architecture is subject to radical changes, as ideas about design, function, and purpose are re-evaluated.⁷³ Importantly, the architecture profession has also not managed to restrict its work by ensuring that no others can legally do the work of an architect.⁷⁴ Finally, Blau notes that architecture has resisted specialisation, whereas, for other professions, specialisation is evidence of their complex knowledge base, and therefore justifies their case for status and exclusion.⁷⁵ Robert Gutman adds that architecture is an entrepreneurial profession because it needs to seek clients, unlike law and medicine.⁷⁶ He also comments that while the advice of lawyers and doctors is generally followed, that of an architect might be rejected because it is perceived as subjective.⁷⁷ While Sherry Ahrentzen argues that comparing architecture to law and medicine constitutes a gendering of the architecture profession as ‘masculine’ (since these two professions are male-dominated),⁷⁸ the comparison serves to highlight the exceptionalism of architecture, which more directly contributes to gendering (discussed below).

⁶⁹ Pinnington and Morris, “Transforming the Architect,” 196. Also discussed in Martin Kornberger, Kristian Kreiner, and Stewart Clegg, “The Value of Style in Architectural Practice,” *Culture and Organization* 17, no. 2 (2011): 141.

⁷⁰ John Cullen, “Structural Aspects of the Architectural Profession,” in *Professionals and Urban Form*, ed. Judith Blau, Mark La Gory, and John S. Pipkin (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1983), 294.

⁷¹ Larson, “Emblem and Exception,” 75–76.

⁷² Judith R. Blau, *Architects and Firms: A Sociological Perspective on Architectural Practice* (Cambridge, MA; London: MIT Press, 1984), 134–35.

⁷³ See also Magali Sarfatti Larson, *Behind the Postmodern Facade: Architectural Change in Late Twentieth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 5.

⁷⁴ This varies from country to country, Jordi Farrando and COAC, *Architectural Practice around the World* (Barcelona: UIA, Col·legi d’Arquitectes de Catalunya, 2005), 50, <http://www.coac.net/internacional/ang/docs/APAW.pdf>.

⁷⁵ Blau, *Architects and Firms*, 141.

⁷⁶ Dana Cuff and John Wriedt, *Architecture from the Outside In: Selected Essays by Robert Gutman* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2010), 36.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁷⁸ Sherry Ahrentzen, “The F Word in Architecture: Feminist Analyses in/of/for Architecture,” in *Reconstructing Architecture: Critical Discourses and Social Practices*, ed. Thomas A. Dutton and Lian Hurst Mann (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1996), 76.

Mirko Noordegraaf describes three mechanisms of professionalisation that make and remake members of a profession, and structure and legitimate their existence.⁷⁹ First are cognitive mechanisms of knowledge and skills, which begin with education and training and are continued by conferences and specialised media. Second are normative mechanisms, including membership criteria, selection criteria, entry barriers, and certification. Finally, there are symbolic mechanisms: the rites of passage, stories, heroes, codes of ethics, and ideals. Amanda Roan et al conclude that while the architecture profession is strong in the first and third, it has relatively weak structural normative mechanisms.⁸⁰ This was manifest in the previous chapter, where the data showed the weak uptake, profession-wide, of registration and membership of the AIA. The gender consequences of the cognitive and symbolic mechanisms will be described more in the next section.

A consequence of the structural weakness of architecture as a profession and its exceptionalism is that it forms what Dana Cuff argues is an uncertain environment for a career. She maintains that, unlike the clear steps of set duration of law and medicine, there is a “tremendous uncertainty that accompanies any architect’s development.”⁸¹ Rosabeth Kanter argues that uncertainty can trigger gender exclusion.⁸² She maintains that uncertainties—such as vague performance criteria, unstructured tasks, and unknown elements in decision-making (all of which occur in architecture)—become less uncertain if all managers share the same world view via same gender. While Patricia Lewis and Ruth Simpson argue that this aspect of Kanter’s argument overlooks the exercise of power,⁸³ there may be elements of both contributing to the gender imbalance in architecture. At the time of her study (1980s), Cuff notes that uncertainty was *less* so for women since discrimination was highly evident.⁸⁴ A generation later and in Australia, the situation is likely to be different because the social construction of gender changes over time and with location.

A further consequence of architecture’s exceptionalism and structural weakness as a profession is the production of ongoing problems and perceptions of crisis, the roots of which are generally described as irreconcilable tensions.⁸⁵ Saint considers the most significant tension is that between

⁷⁹ Mirko Noordegraaf, “Remaking Professionals? How Associations and Professional Education Connect Professionalism and Organizations,” *Current Sociology* 59, no. 4 (2011).

⁸⁰ Amanda Roan, Justine Clark, and Gill Matthewson, “Understanding Women’s Under-Representation in Architectural Careers: Re-Thinking Professional Registration, Occupational Closure and Marginalisation” (Paper presented at the 30th EGOS Colloquium ‘Reimagining, Rethinking, Reshaping: Organizational Scholarship in Unsettled Times,’ Rotterdam, The Netherlands, 2014).

⁸¹ Dana Cuff, *Architecture: The Story of Practice* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), 137.

⁸² Kanter cited in Patricia Lewis and Ruth Simpson, “Kanter Revisited: Gender, Power and (In)Visibility,” *International Journal of Management Reviews* 14, no. 2 (2012): 148.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Cuff, *Architecture*, 145.

⁸⁵ See Malcolm MacEwen, *Crisis in Architecture* (London: RIBA Publications, 1974); Saint, *The Image of the Architect*; Claire Jamieson and RIBA, *The Future for Architects* (London: Royal Institute of British Architects, 2011), http://www.buildingfutures.org.uk/assets/downloads/The_Future_for_Architects_Full_Report_2.pdf.

architecture as an art and architecture as a business.⁸⁶ Cuff details the tensions as four dialectic dualities structuring practice. Like Saint, she identifies one as art versus business, but adds the individual against the collective, design as decision-making versus design as making sense of a situation, and architect as specialist or qualified generalist.⁸⁷ Blau maintains that in architectural practice, where creativity/art is ranged against a complex socio-economic environment, inconsistencies and inescapable dilemmas are inevitably generated.⁸⁸ She argues that these form structures of risk that are inherent to architecture.⁸⁹

Garry Stevens draws on the work of Pierre Bourdieu to argue that architecture is exemplary of what Bourdieu calls a “field of cultural production,” where artefacts of cultural significance are produced.⁹⁰ The term ‘field’ draws on two meanings of the word. First, it is a battlefield, a site of struggle or competition for control of the resources (capital) of the field, symbolic and material. Second, it is a social field of force, where forces act on an individual, but also where the individual exerts a force. A field is consequently a complex “social universe where, in accordance with particular laws, there accumulates a particular form of capital and where relations of force of a particular type are exerted.”⁹¹ An individual’s position in the field is relational, dependent on everyone else and all the forces that intersect the field.⁹²

These forces described by Stevens are intimated by Blau’s structures of risk and Cuff’s dialectic dualities. Stevens, however, describes how architecture, as a field of cultural production, is driven primarily by symbolic concerns, but that society “place[s] other demands on architecture beyond the purely symbolic.”⁹³ These demands (from clients, consultants, and authorities that include economic, social, and political dimensions) are, Stevens argues, far greater than the extra demands placed on other producers of culture, and thereby create “tremendous tensions.”⁹⁴ In situations of high tension and competition, women as a group can be disadvantaged. This will be discussed more in the following section.

⁸⁶ Saint, *The Image of the Architect*, 6.

⁸⁷ Cuff, *Architecture*, 11.

⁸⁸ Blau, *Architects and Firms*, ix.

⁸⁹ Blau uses the phrase “Daedalean risk”, whereby the resolution to one tension or dilemma produces another. Ibid., 4.

⁹⁰ Garry Stevens, *The Favored Circle: The Social Foundations of Architectural Distinction* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998), 75.

⁹¹ Bourdieu cited in Paul Jones, “Putting Architecture in Its Social Place: A Cultural Political Economy of Architecture,” *Urban Studies* 46, no. 12 (2009): 2522.

⁹² Stevens, *The Favored Circle*, 75.

⁹³ Ibid., 95.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

Two particularly strong sources of external demands for architects are the construction industry and clients.⁹⁵ Indeed, Larson argues that the profession is necessarily dependent on both.⁹⁶ In Australia, construction is the fourth largest industry and contributor to GDP, and therefore both drives and is driven by the economy.⁹⁷ It is a complex industry that Helen Lingard and Valerie Francis (writing of the globalised industry in general, and Australian construction in particular) conclude is highly competitive, with poor job security, relatively low profit, and tight deadlines, with significant penalties for failure to meet them.⁹⁸ Such deadlines place additional time pressure on the architecture profession. Watts claims these conditions produce an adversarial and aggressive culture of blame and conflict with difficult and complex power asymmetries.⁹⁹ Within this wider culture, Alexander Styhre and Pernilla Gluch observe that architects view themselves as defenders of aesthetic qualities against the cost-driven construction industry, but struggle to justify and assert their expertise and authority.¹⁰⁰ Essentially, in an industry so strongly driven by economics, architects can have a weak voice. The second source of external demands on architects is clients: to build architecture requires a client, or, in the case of the kind of projects that sustain large firms, a client body that will pay for the project. Because of this, Blau considers architects to be deeply aligned to the technocratic and corporate elites in society—the politically and economically powerful.¹⁰¹ Again, against such elites, the architect’s voice can be weak.

Caven et al contend that masculine dominance in both construction and client areas contributes to the inhibition of women’s career development in architecture.¹⁰² Fowler and Wilson describe conditions (particularly around the economics of practice) that render architecture a difficult profession for all participants.¹⁰³ However, they maintain that women pursuing careers in architecture are beset with *additional* minor and major structural (and cultural) constraints.¹⁰⁴ Moreover, Katherine Sang et al argue that women in architecture are not just subordinate to the construction industry and clients, but also to men within the profession, which causes them to be at a higher risk of poorer occupational health and well-being than men.¹⁰⁵

⁹⁵ Blau, *Architects and Firms*, 134; Stevens, *The Favored Circle*; Cuff and Wriedt, *Architecture from the Outside In*, 34.

⁹⁶ Larson, *Behind the Postmodern Facade*, 5.

⁹⁷ ABS, “A Statistical Overview of the Construction Industry,” 2010, <http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/Lookup/1350.0Feature+Article1Oct+2010>.

⁹⁸ Helen Lingard and Valerie Francis, *Managing Work–Life Balance in Construction* (New York: Spon, 2009), 27.

⁹⁹ Watts, “Leaders of Men,” 522.

¹⁰⁰ Alexander Styhre and Pernilla Gluch, “Creativity and Its Discontents: Professional Ideology and Creativity in Architect Work,” *Creativity and Innovation Management* 18, no. 3 (2009): 228.

¹⁰¹ Blau, *Architects and Firms*, 134. Cuff also notes this dependency; Cuff, *Architecture*, 35. Stevens critiques architecture for its obedience to, and complicity with, powerful elites; Stevens, *The Favored Circle*, 98.

¹⁰² Caven, Navarro-Astor, and Diop, “A Cross-National Study,” 374.

¹⁰³ Fowler and Wilson, “Women Architects,” 115.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 103.

¹⁰⁵ Katherine J. C. Sang, Andrew R. J. Dainty, and Stephen G. Ison, “Gender: A Risk Factor for Occupational Stress in the Architectural Profession?” *Construction Management and Economics* 25, no. 12 (2007): 1315.

There are, then, structural norms, priorities, and practices in the architecture profession that contribute to its gendered substructure. Gender is thus constructed through architecture's framing both as a profession and as an exceptional profession. Subsequent chapters will investigate how this manifests in detail in Australia, and whether this construction excludes women or prevents their career progression. The cultural dimension of architecture also contributes to context of a career in architecture, and thus is the subject of the next section.

Cultural Dimensions of Architecture

The cultural dimension of Acker's framework considers the production and reproduction of symbols and images that can explain, justify, and sometimes oppose gender distinction.¹⁰⁶ This section first investigates symbols and cultural concepts generated in wider society that inevitably impact on any social structure and predominantly take the form of stereotypes and consequent biases. Although situated in the cultural/symbolic dimension, these stereotypes strongly affect the other dimensions and tend to adversely impact on career formation for women. The section then investigates the dominant cultural construct in architecture, which is architecture's positioning as an art. This produces 'architect stereotypes' that have implicit, and sometimes explicit, gender effects, and so the section lays out how the cultural dimension of architecture might construct gender distinctions.

Stereotypes and Bias

The apparent rationality and naturalness of gender and the gendered division of labour, described in Chapter 1 helps generate gender stereotypes or socially constructed identities coded to each gender.¹⁰⁷ These over-simplified identities involve a series of expectations and presumptions about naturally 'masculine' and 'feminine' behaviours, inclinations, values, psychologies, personalities, and attributes. While stereotypes basically make social life manageable, they also create and re-create oppositional and hierarchical gender distinctions.¹⁰⁸ Because the ideal worker/bread-winner has typically been male, Acker argues that male-based stereotypes helped form, and became embedded in, prevalent ideas about what is the best way to define and undertake work, identify and reward competence, and understand and interpret work behaviour.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Acker, "Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies," 146.

¹⁰⁷ Page 17 of this thesis.

¹⁰⁸ Barbara Risman cited in Amy S. Wharton, *The Sociology of Gender: An Introduction to Theory and Research* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 68; Candace West and Don H. Zimmerman, "Accounting for Doing Gender," *Gender & Society* 23, no. 1 (2009): 114.

¹⁰⁹ Robin J. Ely and Debra E. Meyerson, "Theories of Gender in Organizations: A New Approach to Organizational Analysis and Change," *Research in Organizational Behaviour* 22 (2000): 104; Joan Acker, "Gender, Capitalism and Globalization," *Critical Sociology* 30, no. 1 (2004): 24.

Stereotypes are sometimes enacted prescriptively, an assumption that the behaviour of women or men *should* conform to a gender stereotype, or they can be enacted descriptively, a presumption that women or men *will* conform.¹¹⁰ This results in traits, interactions, and behaviours being accepted or not, encouraged or not, depending on the gender of the performer.¹¹¹ Associations and beliefs based on gender stereotypes influence impressions, evaluations, judgements, and decisions. They are projected or imposed onto a person by others, but stereotypes are also internalised by an individual, and enactment is self-imposed and becomes part of one's identity.¹¹²

Francine Deutsch argues that the automatic activation of stereotypes is mediated by factors, including "cognitive busyness, self-interested motives, exposure to counter-stereotypical images and thoughts, and intentional attempts to avoid prejudice."¹¹³ Pressures from mass media and social groupings, such as family, potentially reinforce strong gender stereotypes.¹¹⁴ However, while gender stereotypes are resilient and operate in a self-reinforcing process, they are not absolute.¹¹⁵ This means the stereotypes that affected women entering the architecture profession in the 1980s, when Cuff undertook her study and when the earliest Australian report into women in architecture was completed,¹¹⁶ will not be the same as those that operate in the twenty-first century.¹¹⁷ Instead of overt bias, Robin Ely et al argue, there is now second-generation gender bias (also known as unconscious, hidden, or covert bias).¹¹⁸ This bias is highly localised, variable, subtle, and manifests slowly over time to exclude non-dominant groups.¹¹⁹

Kanter proposes that women inevitably have gender stereotypes projected onto them when they are few in an organisation, or at an organisational level, because they become hyper-visible.¹²⁰ Williams describes three ways in which this kind of focus adversely affects women's ability to demonstrate competence in a workplace, and therefore to advance.¹²¹ First, the expectation that one gender will be more competent at a particular skill or job affects the even application of ostensibly objective

¹¹⁰ Williams, "The Glass Ceiling," 92.

¹¹¹ Cecilia L. Ridgeway, "Framed Before We Know It: How Gender Shapes Social Relations," *Gender and Society* 23, no. 2 (2009): 152.

¹¹² Cockburn and Ormrod cited in Andrea North-Samardzic and Lucy Taksa, "The Impact of Gender Culture on Women's Career Trajectories: An Australian Case Study," *Equality Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal* 30, no. 3 (2011): 201.

¹¹³ Francine M. Deutsch, "Undoing Gender," *Gender and Society* 21, no. 1 (2007): 116.

¹¹⁴ Alvesson and Billing, *Understanding Gender*, 235.

¹¹⁵ Williams, "The Glass Ceiling," 93.

¹¹⁶ Page 6 of this thesis.

¹¹⁷ Eagly and Carli, *Through the Labyrinth*, 2; Yvonne Due Billing, "Are Women in Management Victims of the Phantom of the Male Norm?" *Gender, Work & Organization* 18, no. 3 (2011).

¹¹⁸ Robin J. Ely, Herminia Ibarra, and Deborah M. Kolb, "Taking Gender into Account: Theory and Design for Women's Leadership Development Programs," *Academy of Management Learning & Education* 10, no. 3 (2011): 475.

¹¹⁹ Alvesson and Billing, *Understanding Gender*, 215; Susan Sturm, "Second Generation Employment Discrimination: A Structural Approach," *Columbia Law Review* 101, no. 3 (2001): 460.

¹²⁰ Rosabeth Moss Kanter, *Men and Women of the Corporation*, 2nd ed. (New York: Basic Books, 1993), Chapter 8.

¹²¹ Williams, "The Glass Ceiling," 94–95.

rules. Second, women tend to be judged on their accomplishments, but men on their potential. Virginia Valian cites numerous studies to show that, despite stated beliefs in equality, people tend to underestimate the abilities of women and overestimate those of men.¹²² Although such estimates can be small and individually seem insignificant, Valian argues that they add up over time to become decisive, and men's accumulated advantages result in career advancement. Gendered under- and over-estimation of abilities can also be internalised and affect individual confidence levels, often negatively for women. Finally, bias results in the mistakes women make being less easily forgiven or forgotten than the mistakes of men, and male success is often attributed to skill, but female success to luck. Michelle Ryan and Alexander Haslam find that women in leadership roles are subjected to heightened scrutiny over their performance.¹²³ Williams and Rachel Dempsey propose that, because of gender biases, women are required to constantly prove their competence.¹²⁴

When recruitment, awarding of project roles, performance evaluations, promotions, and other critical points of career development are subject to unconscious stereotype bias (often due to heightened visibility), then those in any minority will tend to be disadvantaged. However, as Valian notes, bias also occurs every day, not just at critical career points.¹²⁵ Andrew Dainty et al maintain that women in construction organisations are regarded as additional competition for very limited career opportunities, as well as a threat to an environment that was formerly both male-dominated and male-orientated.¹²⁶ This led to daily discriminatory behaviour that ultimately resulted in women leaving the organisations. Similarly, Elin Kvande and Bente Rasmussen find male engineers explicitly invoked stereotypes to eliminate women from the competition for career challenges.¹²⁷

Yvonne Billing and Mats Alvesson argue, however, that gender is not always the salient issue in workplaces. Instead, the high competition and productivity demands of the globalised economy mean employers will always prefer to employ ideal workers—those who prioritise work and are amenable to a 24/7 work life.¹²⁸ Taking a broader view, Acker asserts that globalisation and capitalism are themselves underpinned by gender.¹²⁹ Andrew Jones, likewise, emphasises the

¹²² Virginia Valian, "Sex, Schemas, and Success: What's Keeping Women Back?" *Academe* 84, no. 5 (1998): 54.

¹²³ Michelle K. Ryan and S. Alexander Haslam, "The Glass Cliff: Evidence That Women Are Over-Represented in Precarious Leadership Positions," *British Journal of Management* 16, no. 2 (2005): 81.

¹²⁴ Williams and Dempsey, *What Works for Women at Work*, Chapter 2.

¹²⁵ Virginia Valian, "Beyond Gender Schemas: Improving the Advancement of Women in Academia," *Hypatia* 20, no. 3 (2005): 204.

¹²⁶ Andrew R. J. Dainty, Barbara M. Bagilhole, and Richard H. Neale, "A Grounded Theory of Women's Career Underachievement in Large UK Construction Companies," *Construction Management and Economics* 18, no. 2 (2000): 248.

¹²⁷ Elin Kvande and Bente Rasmussen, "Men in Male-Dominated Organizations and Their Encounter with Women Intruders," *Scandinavian Journal of Management* 10, no. 2 (1994): 166.

¹²⁸ Yvonne Due Billing and Mats Alvesson, "Questioning the Notion of Feminine Leadership: A Critical Perspective on the Gender Labelling of Leadership," *Gender, Work & Organization* 7, no. 3 (2000): 153.

¹²⁹ Acker, "Gender, Capitalism and Globalization; Joan Acker, "Rewriting Class, Race, and Gender: Problems in Feminist Rethinking," in *Revisioning Gender*, ed. Myra Marx Ferree, Judith Lorber, and Beth B. Hess (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1999).

embeddedness of action in social contexts, and points out that “economic decisions are as much affected by tradition, historical precedent, class and gender interests and other social factors as by considerations of efficiency or profit.”¹³⁰ Nonetheless, gender may not always be the most immediate or only factor driving imbalances in career advancement.

While being male involves access to “powerful symbolic resources” in a workplace, stereotypes do not always privilege all men.¹³¹ Eagly and Carli, drawing on earlier work by Eagly, describe how social role theory research identifies two powerful stereotype associations ascribed to each sex: the agentic to men (assertion and control), and the communal to women (collaboration and compassion).¹³² The communal qualities attributed to women are currently articulated as positive in the workforce in two main ways. One refers to the consequences of increased proportions of women beyond a ‘critical mass,’ and the second is the concept of ‘feminine’ leadership. Just as gender may not be the only factor impinging on career advancement, gender may not always count against women in workplaces or in the architecture profession.

The idea of critical mass expresses the notion that increased inclusion of women into the workforce will improve a workplace or profession.¹³³ Some of the purported benefits were outlined in Chapter 1 as the ‘business case’ or increased efficiencies that result from gender equity.¹³⁴ Others stretch to include making the workplace more congenial and ethical, and reducing corruption and exploitation of people and the environment.¹³⁵ Kanter proposes that more women in a position or profession mean that negative gender stereotypes lose their potency.¹³⁶ It is also likely that more women in any workplace will shift practices, but predicting the effects of those shifts is difficult. Furthermore, Clara Greed describes the concept of critical mass as problematically and precariously relying on an idea that all women might think the same and act in concert to promote women’s issues and interests.¹³⁷ Her research into the UK construction industry found instead that the women were multiply fractured by class allegiances, professional socialisations, and personal perspectives derived from individual experiences of life. This meant they did not have especially different views

¹³⁰ Andrew Jones, “(Re)Producing Gender Cultures: Theorizing Gender in Investment Banking Recruitment,” *Geoforum* 29, no. 4 (1998): 455. Jones draws on Linda McDowell’s work and literature about the new economic sociology.

¹³¹ Alvesson and Billing, *Understanding Gender*, 34.

¹³² Eagly and Carli, *Through the Labyrinth*, 86. also Alice H. Eagly and Wendy Wood, “Explaining Sex Differences in Social Behavior: A Meta-Analytic Perspective,” *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 17, no. 3 (1991).

¹³³ Drude Dahlerup, “The Story of the Theory of Critical Mass,” *Politics and Gender* 2, no. 4 (2006): 517; Bolton and Muzio, “Paradoxical Processes,” 282.

¹³⁴ Page 9 of this thesis.

¹³⁵ Billing and Alvesson, “Questioning the Notion.”

¹³⁶ Kanter, *Men and Women of the Corporation*, 230. The transformative figure usually cited is 30–33%, Bagilhole, *Women in Non-Traditional Occupations*, 4.

¹³⁷ Clara Greed, “Women in the Construction Professions: Achieving Critical Mass,” *Gender, Work & Organization* 7, no. 3 (2000).

to those of their immediate male colleagues.¹³⁸ Sharon Mavin also argues that assumption of a natural solidarity among women is unfounded.¹³⁹ Gwendolyn Wright observes that, historically, women in architecture did not necessarily band together, because they recognised their unstable position in the profession.¹⁴⁰ Caven et al point out that in Spain, where women *have* exceeded critical mass in architecture, structural and cultural barriers are still preventing real equity.¹⁴¹ Thus, increased numbers of women help, but are not a complete answer.

Eagly and Carli note that, recently, leadership attributes associated with stereotypical feminine qualities have become fashionable and the command-and-control-boss associated with the traditional career model is considered less appropriate for the twenty-first century.¹⁴² Instead, notions of a leader as a ‘good coach’ or ‘good teacher’ are valued and promoted, particularly in popular-advice media. Because these draw on the supposedly ‘feminine’ communal attributes of collaboration and relationship-building, the assumption is that women will be more ‘naturally’ able to perform such leadership. However, Joyce Fletcher argues that, due to unconscious biases, women’s performance of these stereotypical-feminine behaviours is not always seen, but the same behaviours by men are noticeable, valued, and result in career advancement.¹⁴³ Conversely, agentic (masculine) behaviour performed by women is highly visible, and may be disapproved of. Fletcher concludes that men can go against type more easily than women, resulting in a double bind for women in roles or occupations that belie their stereotype.¹⁴⁴ Consequently, Bagilhole observes that women leaders “are permitted to exercise leadership only in styles that are considered appropriate to their gender.”¹⁴⁵

Importantly, Eagly and Carli note that research indicates that women and men differ only slightly in terms of leadership.¹⁴⁶ Billing and Alvesson once again consider that the tough competition demands of the capitalist market economy allow managers little room for manoeuvre.¹⁴⁷ Both sets of authors are wary that labelling leadership in such gendered terms tends to reinforce gender

¹³⁸ Ibid., 183.

¹³⁹ Sharon Mavin, “Venus Envy 2: Sisterhood, Queen Bees and Female Misogyny in Management,” *Women in Management Review* 21, no. 5 (2006).

¹⁴⁰ Gwendolyn Wright, “On the Fringe of the Profession: Women in American Architecture,” in *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession*, ed. Spiro Kostof (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 283.

¹⁴¹ Caven, Navarro-Astor, and Diop, “A Cross-National Study,” 373.

¹⁴² Eagly and Carli, *Through the Labyrinth*, 119.

¹⁴³ Joyce K. Fletcher, *Disappearing Acts: Gender, Power and Relational Practice at Work* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999).

¹⁴⁴ Also noted by Alice Eagly and Steven Karau cited in Ruth Sealy, “Changing Perceptions of Meritocracy in Senior Women’s Careers,” *Gender in Management: An International Journal* 25, no. 3 (2010): 191.

¹⁴⁵ Bagilhole, *Women in Non-Traditional Occupations*, 49.

¹⁴⁶ Eagly and Carli, *Through the Labyrinth*, 119.

¹⁴⁷ Billing and Alvesson, “Questioning the Notion,” 153.

stereotypes, and warn that a change in fashion might as easily disadvantage women.¹⁴⁸ On a more positive note, Billing and Alvesson argue that allegedly ‘feminine’ leadership serves to challenge notions of leadership.¹⁴⁹ They are less concerned with detailed assessments of whether women and men do, or do not, operate in particular ways. Instead, they consider that these beliefs about female leadership enable perceptions about managers and leaders to shift. It is such perception shifts that potentially loosen the hold of traditional gender stereotypes thus reducing bias.

Stereotypes and biases based on gender are able to change, but their persistence at unconscious or unacknowledged levels means they can be continuing contributors to cultural understandings in the workplace and therefore contribute to the gendered substructure. These gender stereotypes interact with architect stereotypes, which the next section introduces.

Architecture as a Creative Art

Paul Jones argues that the architecture profession valorises some aspects of what architects do and devalues others, and he maintains that the most-valorised is the symbolic logic of aesthetics.¹⁵⁰ This has three elements that are explored in this section: ideas of genius, of creativity, and of the assumed work patterns and time demands of artistic work. As it will be shown, each can be a means to exclude women.

Saint explains that art was the only part of the construction of buildings in the nineteenth century in the UK that another profession had not laid prior claim to.¹⁵¹ David Brain similarly describes a growing ideology of artistic creativity based on drawing techniques supported the professionalisation of architecture in the US.¹⁵² Since that time, art has been held to define the profession in Anglo-American countries.¹⁵³ Christine Battersby claims that, in order to effect this formation as an art in the nineteenth century, the history of architecture was necessarily framed to follow art-historical conventions that emphasise the work of individual geniuses.¹⁵⁴ Battersby identifies two particular usages of the word ‘genius’ that she maintains have been important to the conceptualisations of architecture. The first is the Romantic genius, a psychological type and outsider who surrenders his [sic] ego and desire to the will of his ‘Art.’ Second, a genius is an

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 154.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 149.

¹⁵⁰ Jones, “Putting Architecture in Its Social Place,” 2523. Also discussed in the last section.

¹⁵¹ Saint, *The Image of the Architect*, 61.

¹⁵² David Brain, “Practical Knowledge and Occupational Control: The Professionalization of Architecture in the United States,” *Sociological Forum* 6, no. 2 (1991): 247. Larson also links the formation of the profession to drawing, but dates this to the Renaissance; Larson, *Behind the Postmodern Facade*, 4.

¹⁵³ Saint, *The Image of the Architect*, 66.

¹⁵⁴ Christine Battersby, “The Architect as Genius: Feminism and the Aesthetics of Exclusion,” *alba: Scotland’s visual arts magazine* 1, no. 3 (1991). Also argued by David Watkins, cited in Blau, *Architects and Firms*, 90.

individual “whose work marks the boundary between the old way and the new way within the tradition.”¹⁵⁵ Together, these conceptions posit the genius as an outsider who transgresses and changes norms. It is worthwhile to note that the valuation of transgression in architecture is one of the reasons why the knowledge base of the profession is vulnerable to disruption.¹⁵⁶ But, as Battersby argues, the genius is always conceived of as male—women who transgress norms are perceived as ‘others,’ not ‘outsiders’: “their deviation from tradition is seen as a form of *struggle* to be *normal* or *failure* or *lack*.”¹⁵⁷

The heroic genius-architect is epitomised in the figure of Howard Roark, the macho protagonist and uncompromising man of action of Ayn Rand’s book and the movie *The Fountainhead*.¹⁵⁸ Cuff notes that, at the time of her study, architecture students were likely to have read this book,¹⁵⁹ and Saint begins his analysis of the image of an architect with a discussion of it.¹⁶⁰ It is a powerful depiction of the creative independence of an architect as ‘manly man.’ However, Bernard Boyle calls this heroic architect-genius model anachronistic, and notes it is perpetuated by architectural history and supported by uninformed public perception.¹⁶¹ Cuff also argues that it represents a false image and simplification of architectural practice.¹⁶² But, as Stratigakos notes, few observe that the model is male.¹⁶³

The male-genius-architect conception is deeply embedded in systems of evaluation within the profession. Hilde Heynen draws on Battersby’s work to argue that the symbolic convention of architect-as-genius has tended to exclude women from attaining the Pritzker Prize, the highest international accolade in architecture.¹⁶⁴ The focus on both individual and genius achievement means winners have overwhelmingly been solo men. For Heynen, this indicates how deeply gender bias is embedded in the ideology of the profession.¹⁶⁵ She points out that architecture practice has become contested territory, with growing emphasis on other ways of working that challenge cultural understandings of architecture. One such challenge is collaboration, which defies the individual

¹⁵⁵ Battersby, “The Architect as Genius,” 10.

¹⁵⁶ Page 72 of this thesis.

¹⁵⁷ Battersby, “The Architect as Genius,” 10, 16, original emphasis.

¹⁵⁸ Ayn Rand, *The Fountainhead* (London: Penguin, 1943). For critique, see Despina Stratigakos, “The Uncanny Architect: Fears of Lesbian Builders and Deviant Homes in Germany,” in *Negotiating Domesticity: Spatial Productions of Gender in Modern Architecture*, ed. Hilde Heynen and Gülsüm Baydar (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), 148.

¹⁵⁹ Cuff, *Architecture*, 117.

¹⁶⁰ Saint, *The Image of the Architect*, 1.

¹⁶¹ Bernard Michael Boyle, “Architectural Practice in America, 1865–1965—Ideal and Reality,” in *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession*, 90. Also observed in Julie Willis and Bronwyn Hanna, *Women Architects in Australia 1900–1950* (Red Hill, ACT: Royal Australian Institute of Architects, 2001), discussed page 8 of this thesis.

¹⁶² Cuff, *Architecture*, 245.

¹⁶³ Stratigakos, “Architect in Skirts,” 90.

¹⁶⁴ Hilde Heynen, “Genius, Gender and Architecture: The Star System as Exemplified in the Pritzker Prize,” *Architectural Theory Review* 17, no. 2–3 (2012).

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 342.

genius model, and involves the communality that is claimed to be a ‘feminine’ way of working—hence potentially making women’s work more visible. However, such challenges have yet to impact on the conventions of how merit and value is assessed in the profession, which continue to have a restricting impact on the ability of women to visibly succeed.¹⁶⁶

A key idea promulgated in the architecture profession, and related to the concept of the genius-architect discussed above, is that of creativity. Blau finds that 98% of the architects she surveyed asserted that art and creativity were central to the profession.¹⁶⁷ Similarly, Laurie Cohen et al observe architects describing creativity as core to architecture, and as the expertise that defines an architect.¹⁶⁸ Graham Winch and Eric Schneider maintain that architectural practices are creative organisations commissioned to “provide novel solutions to spatial problems.”¹⁶⁹ Likewise, Styhre and Gluch assert that “architects are by definition creative and have the moral obligation to exploit such creative potentials.”¹⁷⁰ More cautiously, Cuff argues that placing design or creativity as the central element of architecture is part of the “espoused theory” of the profession, important for enabling architects to make sense of their work but often contradicted by actual practice.¹⁷¹ In fact, because of the impact of other demands on architecture, detailed in the previous section, the creativity of an architect is almost always constrained. Cohen et al find that, although creativity was the dominant *rhetoric*, few said it was their main day-to-day concern.¹⁷² Likewise, Styhre and Gluch observe that “there is a discrepancy between expectation on creative self-fulfilment through architect practices and the actual everyday work.”¹⁷³ They conclude that this discrepancy leads to disappointment and cynicism.¹⁷⁴ Disappointment is also recorded by Sang et al in an investigation into the anticipatory socialisation of architects where the consequent disillusionment strongly affected job and career satisfaction.¹⁷⁵ However, Larson reports disillusionment or bitterness to be common among even successful architects.¹⁷⁶ Gutman goes even further and claims that “architecture is populated by a higher proportion of alienated and disappointed men and women

¹⁶⁶ Blau also challenges the profession’s view of merit (Blau, *Architects and Firms*, Chapter 5); as does Cuff (Cuff, *Architecture*, Chapter 6.); and Willis (Julie Willis, “Invisible Contributions: The Problem of History and Women Architects,” *Architectural Theory Review* 3, no. 2 [1998]).

¹⁶⁷ Blau, *Architects and Firms*, 46.

¹⁶⁸ Laurie Cohen, Adrian Wilkinson, John Arnold, and Rachael Finn, “‘Remember I’m the Bloody Architect!’: Architects, Organizations and Discourses of Profession,” *Work, Employment & Society* 19, no. 4 (2005): 792.

¹⁶⁹ Graham Winch and Eric Schneider, “Managing the Knowledge-Based Organization: The Case Study of Architectural Practice,” *Journal of Management Studies* 30, no. 6 (1993): 927.

¹⁷⁰ Styhre and Gluch, “Creativity and Its Discontents,” 227.

¹⁷¹ Cuff, *Architecture*, 44–45, 20.

¹⁷² Cohen et al., “Remember I’m the Bloody Architect!” 792.

¹⁷³ Styhre and Gluch, “Creativity and Its Discontents,” 227.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 224.

¹⁷⁵ Katherine Sang, Stephen Ison, Andrew Dainty, and Abigail Powell, “Anticipatory Socialisation Amongst Architects: A Qualitative Examination,” *Education + Training* 51, no. 4 (2009): 309.

¹⁷⁶ Larson, *Behind the Postmodern Facade*, 106.

than any other major profession.”¹⁷⁷ These high levels of disillusionment undoubtedly cause architects to leave the profession, but do not illuminate the gender difference in leaving revealed in the previous chapter; a difference that implicates a gendered substructure.

This discrepancy between the promise of creativity and the reality of day-to-day work has been observed in other creative industries. Stephanie Taylor describes two important characteristics of all creative work.¹⁷⁸ The first concerns time and the second love of the work. Creativity is considered an open-ended process that therefore requires unlimited time-commitment and full immersion—this is seen as “a necessary condition for creative working [...] part of a ‘logic of success’.”¹⁷⁹ Long hours were discussed in the previous section as constitutive of the ideal worker, intensified for professionals, seen as necessary for demonstrating commitment to a career, and particularly difficult to adhere to for women with families. Time pressures were also described as a result of the competitive construction industry. As creative work, architecture has an additional layer of normative dedication to long hours. The cultural meaning of long hours needs explanation as they potentially have a profound impact on women’s ability to sustain a career.

Jeffrey Thompson and Stuart Bunderson argue that work time needs to be considered as more than a simple arithmetical adding of hours.¹⁸⁰ They maintain that time use carries meaning, and if an activity (at work or home) is identity-affirming to an individual, then there will be significantly less conflict or tension. Similarly, Mary Blair-Loy concludes that the demand to work very long hours remains a stable and structural aspect of high-status occupations and those who aspire to them.¹⁸¹ Moreover, she argues for understanding the schemas or cultural ways in which wholehearted devotion to work operates; as long as the women finance executives in her study had faith in the work-devotion schema, they did not experience such hours as overwork.¹⁸² Instead, intense connection and immersion in their work allowed them “occasionally to transcend ordinary time and experience a heightened sense of purpose and meaning.”¹⁸³ But if the faith was breached, often due to under-acknowledgment, then long hours were perceived as overwork and resented.

Jonathan Gershuny, drawing on Veblen’s argument that social position is indicated by the representation of the activities of social life, hypothesises that, culturally, long hours of work are

¹⁷⁷ Robert Gutman, *Architectural Practice: A Critical View* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Architectural Press, 1988), 110. Ahrentzen notes however that Gutman gives no source for this statement; Ahrentzen, “The F Word in Architecture,” 76.

¹⁷⁸ Stephanie Taylor, “The Meanings and Problems of Contemporary Creative Work,” *Vocations and Learning* 5, no. 1 (2012): 49.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Jeffrey A. Thompson and J. Stuart Bunderson, “Work-Nonwork Conflict and the Phenomenology of Time: Beyond the Balance Metaphor,” *Work and Occupations* 28, no. 1 (2001).

¹⁸¹ Blair-Loy, “Work Devotion,” 310.

¹⁸² Ibid., 282.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 306.

increasingly associated with the most privileged social groups in contemporary developed society.¹⁸⁴ Long hours equate to ‘being busy’ and, Gershuny contends, “‘busyness’ at the start of the third millennium succeeds leisure as ‘the badge of honour’, the signifier of high social status.” He also argues that such jobs often have an element of ‘play’ about them; of “confronting knotty problems and competing with worthy opponents.”¹⁸⁵ Therefore, long hours can also signify a full engagement with work that is an enjoyable and absorbing activity providing intellectual challenge,¹⁸⁶ and intrinsic rewards.¹⁸⁷

Jane Sturges records that the young architects she interviewed associated long hours with creativity and part of what it means to be professional and to be a member of a work ‘family.’¹⁸⁸ Like Blair-Loy’s executives, some of Sturges’ architects experienced a kind of transcendence where architecture was described as a life-dominating “passion.”¹⁸⁹ Cuff describes this attitude to time as endemic in architectural practice, where architects work without time limit to secure good aesthetic outcomes.¹⁹⁰ Furthermore, Carla Corroto proposes that the longevity of works of architecture means that experiences of time are distorted for architects.¹⁹¹ Not only does time spent working seem irrelevant in the span of historical architectural time, but the enormous complexity of the discipline also means decades of dedication are required to become accomplished. Critically, Corroto argues, this time distortion prevents challenges to the status quo of long hours. In a similar vein, Andrew Brown et al detail how the discourse of creativity is not just about making sense of architecture work (as Cuff cited above describes), but enjoins junior staff to tolerate the mundane nature of much of their day-to-day work for the delayed promise of a creative future.¹⁹² There are, then, powerful cultural conceptual and normative conditions regarding time embedded in architecture.

The second characteristic of creative work identified by Taylor is that it is considered satisfying—people love the work and are not motivated by money.¹⁹³ Valerie Caven and Marie Diop find architects strongly valued the intrinsic rewards of architecture.¹⁹⁴ These included the satisfaction of

¹⁸⁴ Jonathan Gershuny, “Busyness as the Badge of Honour for the New Superordinate Working Class,” *Working Papers of the Institute for Social and Economic Research* (Colchester: University of Essex, 2005). Unpaginated.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ Ofer Scharone, “Engineering Overwork: Bell-Curve Management at a High-Tech Firm,” in *Fighting for Time*, 195.

¹⁸⁷ Jane Sturges, “A Matter of Time: Young Professionals’ Experiences of Long Work Hours,” *Work, Employment & Society* 27, no. 2 (2013): 354.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 345, 351.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 349.

¹⁹⁰ Cuff, *Architecture*, 70. She also speculates that it forms a resistance by architects to the power of clients.

¹⁹¹ Carla Corroto, “Constructing Architects: A Critical Ethnography” (PhD Dissertation, Ohio State University, 1996), 175.

¹⁹² Andrew D. Brown, Martin Kornberger, Stewart R. Clegg, and Chris Carter, “‘Invisible Walls’ and ‘Silent Hierarchies’: A Case Study of Power Relations in an Architecture Firm,” *Human Relations* 63, no. 4 (2010): 540–41.

¹⁹³ Taylor, “Meanings and Problems,” 52.

¹⁹⁴ Valerie Caven and Marie Diop, “Architecture: A ‘Rewarding’ Career? An Anglo-French Comparative Study of Intrinsic Rewards in the Architecture Profession,” *Construction Management and Economics* 30, no. 7 (2012).

a lasting legacy in the built environment, a sense of contributing to society, and the formation of social relationships with others—including other architects, those in the construction industry, and clients.¹⁹⁵ However, love of the work can lead to exploitation and a tolerance of precarious and low-paid employment.¹⁹⁶ Unsurprisingly, Caven and Diop also record relative low pay and job insecurity in architecture.¹⁹⁷ These elements further contribute to the sense of disillusionment described above. Moreover, efforts to counter such conditions often run into cultural resistance because of a common perception that management counters creativity.¹⁹⁸

The research detailed in this section shows how concepts in the cultural dimension of wider society and within the architecture profession contribute to the formation of a gendered substructure. Stereotypes embedded in the ideal woman and the ideal architect impact on individual women and potentially conflict. In particular, the time devotion of creativity is a highly probable critical point of tension for women architects. The chapters that follow will examine this and other points of tension, drawing especially on Blair-Loy's discussion of devotion and faith.¹⁹⁹

Interactions

Structural and cultural dimensions of a profession can be viewed as external to individuals, but they are created, re-created, and sustained through the actions and interactions of its members. The ways in which people interact and make sense of these dimensions are the subjects of the next two sections and form the third and fourth dimensions of a social structure.

Acker maintains that interactions between workers may reproduce inequality by enacting dominance and submission as well as creating alliances and exclusions.²⁰⁰ How stereotypes and attendant bias might impose behaviours and colour interactions was discussed in the previous section. This section looks specifically at alliances and exclusions enacted between workers and how these contribute to the gendered substructure.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 520.

¹⁹⁶ Taylor, "Meanings and Problems," 43.

¹⁹⁷ Caven and Diop, "Architecture: A 'Rewarding' Career?." Low pay is also reported by Paula Whitman, *Going Places: The Career Progression of Women in the Architectural Profession* (Brisbane: Queensland University of Technology, 2005); and de Graft-Johnson, Manley, and Greed, *Why Do Women Leave Architecture?*

¹⁹⁸ Gutman, *Architectural Practice*, 110; Stephen Emmitt, "Architectural Management—An Evolving Field," *Engineering, Construction and Architectural Management* 6, no. 2 (1999): 192.

¹⁹⁹ Blair-Loy, "Work Devotion."

²⁰⁰ Acker, "Gendering Organizational Theory," 253.

Alliances and Exclusions

Greed contends that the mechanisms of closure and exclusion in the professions (noted in the structure section of this chapter) have shifted onto everyday interpersonal social interaction.²⁰¹ The activation of stereotypes can exclude women on a daily basis, and interactions can encourage or marginalise, and strongly affect perceptions of “fitting in” (or not) in a workplace or a profession. Paul Atkinson and Sara Delamont describe how the ability to fit in, stay, or progress in any profession can be problematic for women.²⁰² They argue this is less about their technical abilities and credentials, and more about a profession’s complex social context and the political and socialised skills necessary to interact with it. They describe the required social-interaction skills as “mastery of the indeterminate,” and discuss how this mastery ultimately determines career advancement.²⁰³ Evetts also finds that women engineers seldom had problems with the work itself, but had significant difficulties dealing with gendered expectations and practices.²⁰⁴ She likewise concludes that staying in that profession, or reaching higher positions, depends on informal ties and connection to gate-keepers.²⁰⁵

These ties and connections contribute to the social capital that Deborah O’Neil et al describe as being critical to women’s career advancement, as discussed in Chapter 1.²⁰⁶ Its accumulation depends on multiple informal interactions that develop relationships and systems of mutual obligation and support, which, in turn, affect the gaining of the kind of work and experience that leads to advancement. Within any workplace, these relationships build trust, co-operation, and shared understanding and knowledge. Eagly and Carli contend that these relationships are as critical to the operation of any workplace as the explicit work.²⁰⁷

Blair-Loy confirms that the networks that produce social capital are predicated on close and trusting relationships, but argues that these are far easier to form and sustain within groups that are gender (and class) homogeneous.²⁰⁸ She describes the professional women in her study as having to

²⁰¹ Greed, “Women in the Construction Professions,” 183.

²⁰² Paul Atkinson and Sara Delamont, “Professions and Powerlessness: Female Marginality in the Learned Occupations,” *The Sociological Review* 38, no. 1 (1990).

²⁰³ Ibid., 107. Similarly, Fournier, “The Appeal to ‘Professionalism’,” 287. Jamous and Peloille argue that all professions have high levels of indeterminacy, cited in Cuff, *Architecture*, 39.

²⁰⁴ Julia Evetts, “Managing the Technology but Not the Organization: Women and Career in Engineering,” *Women in Management Review* 13, no. 8 (1998).

²⁰⁵ Julia Evetts, “Women and Management in Engineering: The ‘Glass Ceiling’ for Women’s Careers,” *Women in Management Review* 8, no. 7 (1993): 22.

²⁰⁶ Page 15 of this thesis.

²⁰⁷ Eagly and Carli, *Through the Labyrinth*, 144.

²⁰⁸ Mary Blair-Loy, “It’s Not Just What You Know, It’s Who You Know: Technical Knowledge, Rainmaking, and Gender among Finance Executives,” *Research in the Sociology of Work* 10 (2001).

“charm” men in order to overcome a “baseline lack of trust in women.”²⁰⁹ Louise Roth also maintains that the preference for interacting with like-minded people, or homosociality, perpetuates male domination in certain fields.²¹⁰ While the architecture profession itself is less male dominated overall, the senior ownership levels (as revealed in Chapter 2) and the fields with which it interacts (such as the construction industry, as noted earlier) often are, which potentially affect women’s ability to maintain and succeed in the profession.

As with the structural and cultural dimensions of a profession, there can be a time element to the accrual of social capital: crucial networking can take place outside of normal work hours, or, if it occurs during standard work hours, actual work has to be completed by staying beyond those hours.²¹¹ Moreover, sometimes such capital-accumulation opportunities are hosted in explicitly male environments, or associated with activities that would culturally usually be considered male.²¹²

In addition to these gendering practices, Bolton and Muzio, in an investigation of a number of professions, ultimately conclude that to be a professional person requires complying with “behavioural and interactional norms that celebrate and sustain a ‘masculine’ vision of what it is to be a professional.”²¹³ Judith McIlwee and Gregg Robinson argue further that ‘masculine’ interaction styles—which they describe as aggressive displays of technical ability, self-promotion, and self-confidence—are valued in professions.²¹⁴ Discussing women in senior positions, Patricia Bryans and Sharon Mavin argue that when one’s peer group is male, then it is difficult *not* to develop these kinds of interaction techniques in order to fit in.²¹⁵

Interactions between people are affected by the structure and culture of a profession and workplace, and have the ability to confirm or contradict gender distinction. Structurally, architecture is located within the male-dominated construction industry and, culturally, it is framed as creative with notions of individual male-architect-genius. How individual interactions might comply with or resist these gendering processes is the subject of subsequent chapters.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 69.

²¹⁰ Louise Marie Roth, “Bringing Clients Back In: Homophily Preferences and Inequality on Wall Street,” *The Sociological Quarterly* 45, no. 4 (2004). Roth uses the term ‘homophily’ but ‘homosocial’ appears more common.

²¹¹ Eagly and Carli, *Through the Labyrinth*, 138.

²¹² Ibid., 145; Patricia Bryans and Sharon Mavin, “Women Learning to Become Managers: Learning to Fit in or to Play a Different Game?” *Management Learning* 34, no. 1 (2003): 126.

²¹³ Bolton and Muzio, “Paradoxical Processes,” 283.

²¹⁴ Cited in Deneen M. Hatmaker, “Engineering Identity: Gender and Professional Identity Negotiation among Women Engineers,” *Gender, Work & Organization* 20, no. 4 (2013): 384.

²¹⁵ Bryans and Mavin, “Women Learning to Become Managers,” 127.

Deneen Hatmaker argues that identity develops through a recurrent and dynamic process of interaction and interpretation.²¹⁶ In other words, gender identity is achieved in part through interactions, which is the subject of the next section.

The Construction of Meaning and Identity

Identity is the fourth level of Acker's gendered substructure framework, and constitutes the internalised identity work of individuals constructing understandings of how the profession works and how one should behave in it.²¹⁷ Identity is both individual and collective, and its construction is a process fraught with paradox and ambiguity.²¹⁸ Nonetheless, it is critical for people making sense of their lives and their work. This section first discusses identity construction and the 'doing' of gender, then moves on to the construction of professional identity, which is also collective but with individual customisation.

Alvesson and Billing argue that to consider identity is to bring individual agency into balance with structural and cultural constraints.²¹⁹ They also argue that, although identity is individual, it is also strongly shaped by cultural and historical formations.²²⁰ As Eva Magnusson describes it:

No matter how individual and unique a person's experiences, interpretations or sense of meaning appear, they are always created within some kind of cultural framework [...] humans [are] self-interpreting, meaning-making beings who have to be seen as always culturally and socially situated.²²¹

Identity is not developed nor maintained in isolation but in relation to, and interaction with, other people who "confirm, support or disrupt different identity claims."²²² Within any social situation, there are normative views, or cultural stereotypes, associated with an identity category, and people draw on these when constructing their identity.²²³ People can therefore be seen as having multiple identities activated in different situations. An individual might enact a particular aspect of an identity, or might have an identity stereotype imposed, in one situation but not in another. Depending on the situation, certain identities are enabled and others not.²²⁴ Identity/identities

²¹⁶ Hatmaker, "Engineering Identity," 384.

²¹⁷ Acker, "Gendering Organizational Theory," 253.

²¹⁸ Manto Gotsi, Constantine Andriopoulos, Marianne W. Lewis, and Amy E. Ingram, "Managing Creatives: Paradoxical Approaches to Identity Regulation," *Human Relations* 63, no. 6 (2010): 783.

²¹⁹ Alvesson and Billing, *Understanding Gender*, 96.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 107.

²²¹ Eva Magnusson, "Women, Men, and All the Other Categories: Psychologies for Theorizing Human Diversity," *Nordic Psychology* 63, no. 2 (2011): 109.

²²² Alvesson and Billing, *Understanding Gender*, 97.

²²³ *Ibid.*, 156.

²²⁴ Magnusson, "Women, Men, and All the Other Categories," 110.

construction is therefore both active and complex. For this dissertation, the critical constructions under examination are gender and professional identities, and how they intersect.

Constructing Gender Identities

“Doing gender” is an influential theme in gender studies. One of the earliest articulations was by Candace West and Don Zimmerman.²²⁵ They describe gender as “a routine accomplishment embedded in everyday interaction,” which is to say that gender is active, relational, and contingent. To the degree that any socially interactive behaviour is at risk of being assessed as complying (or not) with normative views of being feminine or masculine, West and Zimmerman argue we can never not “do” gender.²²⁶ As such, they are unconvinced that gender might be ‘undone’—although it might be ‘redone’ to shift the normative identity constructions of a sex category wherein typically men “do dominance” and women “do deference.”²²⁷ However, West and Zimmerman argue that this ‘redoing’ would never erase difference, but instead might possibly weaken the hierarchical inferences from and consequences of those differences.²²⁸

For Judith Butler, gender is always a ‘doing’ in terms of a performance or “a practice of improvisation within a scene of constraint.”²²⁹ She argues that if we are simultaneously constituted by *and* dependent on norms, then we are also able to maintain a critical and transformative relation to them.²³⁰ This means we can shift or disrupt those norms. However, to move too far from the norms (to ‘undo’ gender) is to risk become unrecognisable (to lose identity), and so any agency that an individual has, Butler argues, is dependent on and fractured by paradox.²³¹ Moreover, to deviate from norms risks social censure, social exclusion, and sometimes violence.²³²

Deutsch speculates that, in some situations and interactions, gender identity might not be activated at all, and gender can lose its dominance as an identity category. For her, West and Zimmerman’s conception carries with it the implication of the endless creation of difference and especially inequality in the gender-norms system. This, she argues, has been used by others to argue a rigidity of gender conformity.²³³ While she acknowledges that this formulation has helped dismantle

²²⁵ Candace West and Don H. Zimmerman, “Doing Gender,” *Gender & Society* 1, no. 2 (1987).

²²⁶ Ibid., 137. Wagner and Wodak argue that discussions of ‘doing gender’ are classed, as these are choices that are mainly available to privileged elites; those with less power have more constraints. Ina Wagner and Ruth Wodak, “Performing Success: Identifying Strategies of Self-Presentation in Women’s Biographical Narratives,” *Discourse & Society* 17, no. 3 (2006): 389.

²²⁷ West and Zimmerman, “Doing Gender,” 146.

²²⁸ West and Zimmerman, “Accounting for Doing Gender,” 118.

²²⁹ Judith Butler, *Undoing Gender* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 1.

²³⁰ Ibid., 3.

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² Alvesson and Billing, *Understanding Gender*, 99.

²³³ Deutsch, “Undoing Gender,” 108.

deterministic and essentialist views of gender identity, she considers that it also appears to preclude the possibility that gender might be done in ways that allow equality.²³⁴ Instead, Deutsch argues for the term ‘undoing gender’ to highlight the potential to resist conventional gender relations and, ultimately, change the power dynamics between women and men.²³⁵ Sylvia Gherardi similarly argues that, although doing gender might be inescapable, there may be contexts in which this does not reproduce inequality, allowing people to “do ‘one’ gender and avoid ‘second-sexing’ the other.”²³⁶

Gender is therefore a powerful identity category or resource, but one of many that may or may not be activated, ‘done,’ or constructed in a situation. Another is professional identity.

Professional Identity

In constructing a professional identity, an individual internalises the structural and cultural dimensions of the profession in order to make sense of it.²³⁷ Martimianakis et al maintain that the ways in which professionalism is constructed within a particular profession are central to identity.²³⁸ Crucially, as Bagilhole argues, women in non-traditional occupations can find that their gender identity places them in conflict with the symbolism or discourse of the occupation.²³⁹ The framing of an architect as genius-artist, discussed in the previous section, is an example of such a conflict.

Professional identity in architecture draws on the subtle and deeply embedded accretion of values and expectations that occur in the process of becoming an architect. Because architecture is a field of cultural production, this process, according to Stevens,²⁴⁰ principally involves the accumulation of what Bourdieu calls embodied cultural capital or the “long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body,” which are “linked in numerous ways to the person in his [sic] biological singularity.”²⁴¹ This biological singularity suggests that the gendered body must affect the accumulation and embodiment of cultural capital. Similarly, professional identity would affect the ‘doing’ of gender. Women might have the knowledge and expertise associated with a professional identity, but may be

²³⁴ Ibid., 109.

²³⁵ Ibid., 107.

²³⁶ Cited in Dana M. Britton, “The Epistemology of the Gendered Organization,” *Gender and Society* 14, no. 3 (2000): 430.

²³⁷ Kvande and Rasmussen, “Men in Male-Dominated Organizations,” 165.

²³⁸ Martimianakis, Maniate, and Hodges, “Sociological Interpretations,” 836.

²³⁹ Bagilhole, *Women in Non-Traditional Occupations*, 150. Also discussed by Hatmaker, “Engineering Identity,” 393.

²⁴⁰ Stevens, *The Favored Circle*, 7, 33, 187.

²⁴¹ Pierre Bourdieu, “The Forms of Capital,” in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John Richardson (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 243, 245.

hampered because they do not have the right “signals of value,” specifically the visible signal of the appropriate body.²⁴²

The body is, then, a contested site for identity claims. As Butler argues, “it is through the body that gender and sexuality become exposed to others, implicated in social processes, inscribed by cultural norms, and apprehended in their social meanings.”²⁴³ The body is a means of displaying conformity, or not, to identity norms, be they professional or gender.

Stratigakos argues that, historically, the socially constructed cultural norm of the architect as masculine excluded women, and the body was a critical site of that exclusion.²⁴⁴ The female body was considered too weak to cope with the rigours of professional activity, and even the study of a profession would de-feminise women, rendering them unmarriageable or hermaphroditic. In particular, the qualities of a ‘good architect’ were argued to be the antithesis of a good wife and mother.²⁴⁵ Despite the extremity of such historical arguments, Stratigakos argues that this identity-image of an architect still persists in popular culture, and cites recent movies in which the architect-parent is depicted as a bad parent.²⁴⁶ In particular, she argues that this stereotype is assumed for all women who are architects and mothers.²⁴⁷ Julie Willis also describes enduring subtexts of assumptions regarding women’s physical capabilities and capacity affecting their ability to fully participate in the profession in Australia.²⁴⁸

Michael Pratt et al argue that “what one does (work behaviours) is often compared with expectations about who one is (identity assessments) to motivate the [identity] construction process.”²⁴⁹ Simply to learn the knowledge of a profession is to adjust self-conceptions of identity.²⁵⁰ Stevens maintains that becoming an architect, unlike with other professions, requires not just *knowing* something but *being* something.²⁵¹ Although Pratt et al argue that becoming a doctor

²⁴² Herminia Ibarra, “Provisional Selves: Experimenting with Image and Identity in Professional Adaptation,” *Administrative Science Quarterly* 44, no. 4 (1999): 778.

²⁴³ Butler, *Undoing Gender*, 20.

²⁴⁴ Stratigakos, “Architect in Skirts.”

²⁴⁵ Despina Stratigakos, “The Good Architect and the Bad Parent: On the Formation and Disruption of a Canonical Image,” *Journal of Architecture* 13, no. 3 (2008): 290.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., 285.

²⁴⁸ Julie Willis, “Aptitude and Capacity: Published Views of the Australian Woman Architect,” *Architectural Theory Review* 17, no. 2–3 (2012): 328.

²⁴⁹ Michael G. Pratt, Kevin W. Rockmann, and Jeffrey B. Kaufmann, “Constructing Professional Identity: The Role of Work and Identity Learning Cycles in the Customization of Identity among Medical Residents,” *The Academy of Management Journal* 49, no. 2 (2006): 255.

²⁵⁰ Mats Alvesson and Hugh Willmott, “Identity Regulation as Organizational Control: Producing the Appropriate Individual,” *Journal of Management Studies* 39, no. 5 (2002): 630; Cuff, *Architecture*, 41–43.

²⁵¹ Garry Stevens, “Struggle in the Studio: A Bourdivin Look at Architectural Pedagogy,” *Journal of Architectural Education* 49, no. 2 (1995): 112.

also strongly involves ‘being something,’²⁵² Stevens describes a particularly high level of indeterminacy or uncertainty hovering around the identity of architects due to prevailing ideas of genius, individual innate talent, and creativity. This makes the ‘doing’ for architects far more uncertain than the ‘doing’ for doctors, and therefore places a higher emphasis on ‘being.’

Herminia Ibarra argues that professional identity is less formed in early career and is therefore malleable at this time, and during periods when work roles might change. Her work examines the way people learning new roles also necessarily adopt, trial, and adapt new ‘provisional selves’ or identities, often by imitating others.²⁵³ Pratt et al, however, maintain that the forming of professional identity also occurs incrementally over time and does not necessarily need a new role in order to form.²⁵⁴ They also note that, although some regard professional identity to be the result of professional socialisation, it is a more complex and nuanced process where active individual customisation of identity interacts with the profession’s control of the choices for identity construction.

Cuff describes the widespread conviction in architecture that “the dictates of design sensibility carry through all aspects of life, from the way one letters, dresses, and cooks, to the way one designs buildings.”²⁵⁵ Everything about the body, from its look to its behaviour in all situations, must express the professional identity of design sensibility. The visual nature of this sensibility is also argued by Alexander Styhre, who maintains that “the concept of vision and visibility is key to the architectural profession.”²⁵⁶ The body and what it looks like is, then, critical to the professional identity of an architect, and therefore the gender of that body cannot help but have an impact.

Combining Gender and Professional Identities

As Cuff notes, embodiment affects what one wears. Joanne Entwistle maintains that clothing represents an important connection between individual identity and social belonging through shared tastes and dress styles.²⁵⁷ Kathryn Haynes argues that all professionals employ clothing to embody their professional identity.²⁵⁸ Williams notes that, in particular, balancing gender and professionalism signifiers is critical for all professional women. She details the adoption of

²⁵² Pratt, Rockmann, and Kaufmann, “Constructing Professional Identity.”

²⁵³ Ibarra, “Provisional Selves.”

²⁵⁴ Pratt, Rockmann, and Kaufmann, “Constructing Professional Identity.”

²⁵⁵ Cuff, *Architecture*, 133.

²⁵⁶ Alexander Styhre, “The Architect’s Gaze: The Maintenance of Collective Professional Vision in the Work of the Architect,” *Culture and Organization* 17, no. 4 (2011): 257.

²⁵⁷ Joanne Entwistle and Agnès Rocamora, “The Field of Fashion Materialized: A Study of London Fashion Week,” *Sociology* 40, no. 4 (2006): 743.

²⁵⁸ Kathryn Haynes, “Body Beautiful? Gender, Identity and the Body in Professional Services Firms,” *Gender, Work & Organization* 19, no. 5 (2012).

‘feminine’ softeners by successful business women (which counter the resistance that people may have to women in power) as an example of ‘doing’ gender in a work context.²⁵⁹ This is magnified for an architect who must convey design sensibility, along with professional responsibility. Karen McNeill describes American architect Julia Morgan, working in the early-twentieth century, developing a manner of dress that would not offend the conservative sensibilities of her clients, and yet assert professionalism.²⁶⁰ McNeill argues that the balancing of gender and professional signifiers was a delicate one at that time.

A number of studies have examined the complexities of ‘doing gender’ and identity customisation in the context of professional identity constraints, particularly in engineering.²⁶¹ Deneen Hatmaker describes two types of identity-construction strategies that women engineers used in response to workplace interactions that marginalised their professional identity. One strategy consisted of coping mechanisms, including blocking (refusing to adhere to feminine stereotypes) and rationalisation (accepting gender discrimination). The second strategy involved impression-management tactics: projecting a professional image (being more ‘engineer-y’) and proving oneself (building a history of competence).²⁶² Evetts, also investigating women engineers, observes similar tactics and, significantly, notes these were very often framed in terms of choice: women “could choose ‘appropriate’ behaviours, focus on promotion, work extra hard, walk the tightrope and balance their gender and professional identities.”²⁶³ Importantly, Kathleen Buse et al find that a strong professional identity as an engineer enabled women to persist in that profession.²⁶⁴

Impression-management behaviours, important to identity construction as described by Hatmaker above, are also critical to career development. Val Singh et al divide these behaviours into those that focus on: the self (self-promotion and self-presentation), those in power (ingratiation and networking), and the job (high performance).²⁶⁵ They note that women tend to rely on the last of

²⁵⁹ Williams, “The Glass Ceiling,” 96; Joan Williams, *Reshaping the Work–Family Debate: Why Men and Class Matter* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 123. She notes wearing high heels signals femininity without submissiveness, which might undercut authority.

²⁶⁰ Karen McNeill, “Julia Morgan: Gender, Architecture, and Professional Style,” *Pacific Historical Review* 76, no. 2 (2007): 247.

²⁶¹ Kathleen Buse, Diana Bilimoria, and Sheri Perelli, “Why They Stay: Women Persisting in US Engineering Careers,” *Career Development International* 18, no. 2 (2013); Evetts, “Managing the Technology; Abigail Powell, Barbara Bagilhole, and Andrew Dainty, “How Women Engineers Do and Undo Gender: Consequences for Gender Equality,” *Gender, Work & Organization* 16, no. 4 (2009); Judith Gill, Rhonda Sharp, Julie Mills, and Suzanne Franzway, “I Still Wanna Be an Engineer! Women, Education and the Engineering Profession,” *European Journal of Engineering Education* 33, no. 4 (2008); Watts, ““Allowed into a Man’s World’.”

²⁶² Hatmaker, “Engineering Identity,” 393.

²⁶³ Evetts, “Managing the Technology,” 289.

²⁶⁴ Buse, Bilimoria, and Perelli, “Why They Stay.”

²⁶⁵ Val Singh, Savita Kumra, and Susan Vinnicombe, “Gender and Impression Management: Playing the Promotion Game,” *Journal of Business Ethics* 37, no. 1 (2002): 78.

these and exhibit reluctance to utilise the first two, which places them at a disadvantage as men tend to use all three behaviours.²⁶⁶

Further complicating the professional identity of an architect is the gender ambiguity of architects. Although often (wishfully) modelled on the macho hero of *The Fountainhead*, Battersby identifies that artistic genius is often described as a “*feminine male*.”²⁶⁷ One female architect in the mid-1970s, cited in several studies, commented that “from my building site experience I have learnt that builders have no particular bias against women architects since they regard all architects as women anyway!”²⁶⁸ The original formation of the profession involved a separation between classes of men and, consequently, forms of ‘masculinity.’ ‘Gentlemen’ are not just defined by their relationship to ladies, but also in contrast to the manual labourers of the building site. This means the identity of an architect could be seen as less classically, or at least differently, ‘masculine.’

Despite this possibly inherent complexification of masculinity in architecture, Fowler and Wilson contend that architecture is a “naturalized social construction” of masculine domination where men have reserved to themselves the most “noble tasks.”²⁶⁹ Similarly, Sang et al describe a “hegemonic masculinity” operating in the profession. Loosely, they describe this as currently the most acceptable way for men to ‘do gender.’²⁷⁰ They identify four ways in which this masculinity is produced and reproduced in architecture. First, a culture of long work hours is the norm. Second, there is a prevalence of homosocial behaviour with the dominance of male social networks.²⁷¹ Third, the women architects they studied, but not the men, reported a questioning of their technical expertise by clients and colleagues. Finally, the women observed a hierarchy within offices that kept the coveted creative work firmly in the hands of the male partners. Overall, Sang et al argue that the norms of the profession are gendered as they favour a particular way of operating that is easier for men who perform hegemonic masculinity.²⁷²

As this section has shown, gender and professional identities are complex and intertwined, and potentially ambiguous in the architecture profession. In the chapters that follow, the dissertation will look for the signs of these identity tensions in the Australian architecture profession, along with how identity is constructed and customised. Questioning how identity constructions comply with or

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

²⁶⁷ Battersby, “The Architect as Genius,” 16, original emphasis.

²⁶⁸ From Architectural Design, August 1975 cited in Lindsay Mackie and Polly Pattullo, *Women at Work* (London: Tavistock, 1977), 83. Also noted in Fowler and Wilson, “Women Architects,” 104.

²⁶⁹ Fowler and Wilson, “Women Architects,” 103, 107.

²⁷⁰ Katherine Sang, Andrew Dainty, and Stephen Ison, “Gender in the UK Architectural Profession: (Re)Producing and Challenging Hegemonic Masculinity,” *Work, Employment & Society* 28, no. 2 (2014): 3.

²⁷¹ Ibid., 8.

²⁷² Ibid., 13.

resist gendering, it seeks to examine how the complexities of gendered professional identity hinder or help career advancement in architecture.

The Multi-Dimensions of Gender

A critical element of Acker's framework is the high level of interrelationship between the dimensions detailed in this chapter—Acker calls them “parts of the same reality.”²⁷³ The structural dimension does not stand separate from the interactions that confirm and contest it; individuals can alter the cultural context as well as be defined by it. Evetts, in her discussion of women's careers in professions, identifies the risks when the full range of dimensions and levels at which gender can operate are not considered in analyses of gender imbalance in the workforce.²⁷⁴ In particular, analyses that focus only on structural constraints and cultural context tend to be overly deterministic and can produce pessimistic forecasts for change.

Conversely, when analyses focus on individual interactions and identity, they tend to discuss careers and career events in terms of individual choice and merit, disregarding context.²⁷⁵ Nonetheless, this individualistic framework currently has a tenacious hold—due in part to a prevailing contemporary ideology of neo-liberalism in society that valorises individual agency.²⁷⁶ In an investigation into why women partners left a professional services firm, Deirdre Anderson et al conclude that articulating their decisions in terms of ‘choice’ helped the women to suppress their discontentment over the arguably gendered constraints the firms placed on partners.²⁷⁷ Similarly, Ruth Simpson et al identify the rhetoric of choice as a strategy that professional women use to keep alive ideals of equality and meritocracy, which are important to their professional identity.²⁷⁸ They argue that the frame of choice is used to make sense of, mediate, and manage the contradictions and tensions of women's working lives.²⁷⁹ Nicole Stephens and Cynthia Levine consequently find that those who frame their career outcomes in terms of individual choice are happier, but such framings also hinder long-term advancement for women as a group.²⁸⁰ While the study of individuals, and the individualistic frame, remains powerful and persistent among both researchers and professionals

²⁷³ Acker, “Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies,” 146; Acker, “Gendering Organizational Theory,” 252.

²⁷⁴ Evetts, “Analysing Change,” 58.

²⁷⁵ Adrienne D. Davis, “Straightening It Out: Joan Williams on Unbending Gender,” *American University Law Review* 49, no. 4 (2000): 827–28; Joan Acker, “From Glass Ceiling to Inequality Regimes,” *Sociologie du Travail* 51, no. 2 (2009): 211.

²⁷⁶ Abigail Powell, Andrew Dainty, and Barbara Bagilhole, “Gender Stereotypes among Women Engineering and Technology Students in the UK: Lessons from Career Choice Narratives,” *European Journal of Engineering Education* 37, no. 6 (2012): 546.

²⁷⁷ Deirdre Anderson, Susan Vinnicombe, and Val Singh, “Women Partners Leaving the Firm: Choice, What Choice?” *Gender in Management: An International Journal* 25, no. 3 (2010): 181.

²⁷⁸ Ruth Simpson, Anne Ross-Smith, and Patricia Lewis, “Merit, Special Contribution and Choice,” *Gender in Management: An International Journal* 25, no. 3 (2010): 206.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 198.

²⁸⁰ Nicole M. Stephens and Cynthia S. Levine, “Opting out or Denying Discrimination? How the Framework of Free Choice in American Society Influences Perceptions of Gender Inequality,” *Psychological Science* 22, no. 10 (2011).

themselves, such approaches can lead to assumptions of gender equality and gender neutrality. Stephens and Levine argue that, in the US, structural and cultural barriers are generally considered to no longer exist.²⁸¹ Yvonne Benschop and Hans Doorewaard find a dominant normative belief that gender equality has been achieved, and argue that this conceals ongoing gender inequalities and processes.²⁸² To focus on the individual, then, is a deception that obscures the exercise of power that lies at the core of conceptions of gender distinctions at the collective level.

In architecture, this de-emphasis of the effects of gender, and of possible ongoing inequalities, is aided by three further factors. First, the complexities of the economic and social forces generated by the exceptionalism of the profession beset all architects and can obscure the exercise of gender. Second, the ideal of merit is intensified in architecture due to the individualistic conception of creative work, previously discussed. Third, Fowler and Wilson observe that the architects they interviewed tended to discuss gender in very stereotyped ways.²⁸³ Such discussions revolved around simple arguments as to whether women are the same as or different from men. While scholars argue that such conceptions are reductionist, problematically binary, and ultimately ineffective, they retain a powerful hold in the profession itself.²⁸⁴

To counter the architecture profession's tendency towards gender blindness, this dissertation utilises Acker's framework because it provides a clear mechanism for seeing gender processes in multiple dimensions. For example, all the practices identified by Sang et al detailed in the previous section can be placed in the framework: long hours are cultural and structural; homosocial behaviour is interactional; questioning of expertise is a result of cultural stereotyping; and stratification of the coveted creative work is structural.²⁸⁵ The framework allows for other gendering processes and practices to also be incorporated, which deepens the understanding of the operation of gender in the architecture profession.

Conclusion

The object of this dissertation is the situation of women working in architecture in Australia. This chapter argues for maintaining a multi-faceted focus on analysing that situation, but also highlights how complex the interactions of gender, profession, and architecture can be. Gender is one facet of identity, and the setting of constraints and interactions; how much it obscures other facets is highly

²⁸¹ Ibid.

²⁸² Yvonne Benschop and Hans Doorewaard, "Covered by Equality: The Gender Subtext of Organizations," *Organization Studies* 19, no. 5 (1998).

²⁸³ Fowler and Wilson, "Women Architects," 106.

²⁸⁴ Carol Lee Bacchi, *Same Difference: Feminism and Sexual Difference* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1990).

²⁸⁵ Sang, Dainty, and Ison, "Gender in the UK Architectural Profession."

dependent on the situation in question. The chapter has highlighted a number of ways in which careers for women in architecture might be impacted by a gendered substructure, manifested in the structure and culture of the profession, and interpreted by the interactions and identity of individual architects.

To study the effects of gender in the profession requires the close study of the patterns and variations in and between these dimensions, and this will be the focus of the remaining chapters in this dissertation. The next chapter sets out a methodology and justification for a qualitative approach to this study. The subsequent four chapters will examine how the opportunities and constraints for women architects in Australia in the second decade of the twenty-first century are negotiated by individuals, drawing on identity constructions—both personal and collective. This chapter discussed a temporal element to identity formation and stereotypes, and Chapter Two revealed that pressures on women shift over time. Consequently, these four chapters divide the studied women and men into time cohorts. A following chapter further discusses the interrelationship between the dimensions revealed in the time-cohort chapters.

Seeking to understand what might be distinctive about architecture that prevents the erosion of gender inequalities over time and what might be similar to other professions, these chapters will explore how gender is constructed through the profession's structure and culture and whether this construction excludes women or prevents their career progression. How does the particular and peculiar nature and context of the profession itself impact on women? How does the complex cultural construction of time in architecture affect women? The chapters will also explore whether individual interactions and identities comply with or resist gendering. How do individual women negotiate the tensions between their gender and professional identities? This opens in turn onto larger questions regarding the gendered logic of the profession and the ways in which priorities, practices, and ideologies within the profession favour one gender or another.

Chapter 4 – Research Design, Sample, and Methods



Illustration 4-1: Photograph Taken by Nick Bassett in One of the Three Partner Firms in 2012.¹

This chapter discusses the methodology, and research design and methods used in the qualitative elements of this dissertation to investigate the dimensions of gender in the architecture profession in Australia and their impact on women's careers. The nuances of gender construction require a shift to qualitative methods from the quantitative ones used in Chapter 2. The first section of the chapter details this methodological approach. As previously noted, this dissertation project was a discrete part of a much larger research project, which had presupposed that the methodology would be case-study based. However, this approach became problematic during the implementation of the research, the causes and resolution of which are described in this section. The second section of the chapter addresses the variety of information-gathering methods used. Some of the results, difficulties, and unexpected elements of the research process and sample are discussed. The next section discusses the process of analysing the research material generated by interviews and observations. The final section discusses the ethical implications of the study and their resolution.

¹ This photograph was taken as part of the visual research component of the larger "Equity and Diversity" project. Persons featured in this photograph worked for one of the partner firms in 2012, but their appearance here should not be taken as an indication that they were interviewed for this dissertation—the two components of the research were quite separate.

Because of the reflective nature of this type of qualitative methodology, this chapter will use the personal pronoun.

Methodological Approach

As the dissertation argues that gender is formed and re-produced through social structures and relationships, it primarily sits within a social constructionist methodology framework.² In Chapter 2, the source material necessitated the pragmatic division of the world into female and male. The results revealed that the sex of the body has a negative impact on women's ability to persist in the architecture profession. For this subsequent part of the research, I am more sceptical about such absolute divisions, and strive to understand how the profession might form and re-produce gender distinctions by investigating the words and actions of women and men. In doing so, it is necessary to remain aware that research subjects' performance of words and actions will themselves be affected by the gaze and presence of a researcher.

Gender effects are formed through social interactions in the context of both a situation and a profession, and consequently are unpredictable and hard to study. The interplay between choice and constraints, between agency and context, and between the different dimensions of gendering processes means the dynamics of gender are complex and varied. Stephen Ackroyd argues that any knowledge of the social world can only be approximate and provisional.³ What can be observed is very often determined by preconceptions, which produces an inherent circularity. However, Ackroyd maintains that the circle is not so tightly determined.⁴ He proposes that, while any representation simplifies complexity, it does so in the manner of a map: "[a] representation of some territory; but [...] nonetheless, a reliable guide to features of the landscape."⁵ Mats Alvesson and Yvonne Billing also assert that, although social locations and situations present wide variation and diversity, they are also likely to possess some discernible patterns.⁶ The authors nevertheless caution against any totalising analyses; an analysis might be a guide, they argue, but it is not a determining blueprint. Therefore, despite the complexity and difficulty of the social world, it is still possible to study it to some degree. The methodology most commonly used to do so is case studies.⁷ As such, this was the methodology chosen by the larger research project team for use in this part of the

² Kenneth J. Gergen and Mary M. Gergen, "Social Constructionism," in *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*, ed. Lisa M. Given (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2008), 816.

³ Stephen Ackroyd, "Critical Realism, Organization Theory, Methodology, and the Emerging Science of Reconfiguration," in *Elements of a Philosophy of Management and Organization: Studies in Economic Ethics and Philosophy*, ed. Peter Koslowski (Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer Berlin Heidelberg, 2010), 51.

⁴ Ibid., 58.

⁵ Ibid., 51.

⁶ Mats Alvesson and Yvonne Due Billing, *Understanding Gender and Organizations*, 2nd ed. (London: SAGE Publications, 2009), 43.

⁷ Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, 3rd ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2003), 14.

research. They proposed that the work cultures of the three case-study architecture practices (which were also funding partners in the grant) should be compared for how they each allowed, promoted, or stymied women's career advancement.⁸ The three practices that would constitute these case studies were selected prior to the beginning of this dissertation, and hence were pre-existing givens.

As the research progressed, the proposed comparative framework became problematic for a number of reasons. First, the firms' participation in the larger project was well publicised, as was my own role on the project. This made it difficult to assure the anonymity of participants that Human Research Ethics Clearance, as granted by the University of Queensland (UQ), strictly requires. Given that both access to, and the participation of, the informants was premised on their being unidentifiable, the risk of readers being able to identify individuals from within the specific firms, was deemed too high.⁹ Second, the ability to critically examine an office work culture when the firms' names were in the public domain was constrained. Third, careers in architecture typically occur in the culture set by the profession, rather than individual firms;¹⁰ as Dana Cuff points out, the architectural workforce is mobile one.¹¹ Finally, the results of the statistical snapshot, presented in Chapter 2, indicated that women face different pressures at different times in their career timeline. This emphasis on time is reinforced in the scholarly literature; for example, Andrew Dainty et al find that the number of years since graduation mark distinct periods in a career.¹² The significance of time, and time since graduation, thus offered an opening for a non-case-study-based research approach, which promised to be revealing in other, perhaps more significant, ways.

In light of the above, the research design was adapted to focus on the profession overall, rather than being structured around comparative case studies of the partner firms. Accordingly, the research material, drawn from individuals across all three partner firms, was divided into cohorts based on years since graduation. These mark different stages of an architectural career, and also allow cross-sectional comparisons to be made. This altered research design resolves the anonymity issue, better aligns with the way careers play out in architecture, and reflects the structure of a career across time. The cohort approach also helps avoid homogenising gender groups by breaking them into sub-groups.¹³ By investigating careers over time, the project necessarily covered a scope beyond individual employers, and participants in a cohort were spread across all firms. Consequently, the

⁸ Naomi Stead, Julie Willis, Sandra Kaji-O'Grady, Gillian Whitehouse, Susan Savage, Justine Clark, Karen Burns, and Amanda Roan, "Equity and Diversity in the Australian Architecture Profession: Women, Work, and Leadership (2011–2014)," (Australian Research Council Linkage Project LP100200107, 2010), 11.

⁹ There are also less than a dozen large practices in Australia.

¹⁰ Page 13 of this thesis.

¹¹ Dana Cuff, *Architecture: The Story of Practice* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), 134.

¹² Andrew R. J. Dainty, Barbara M. Bagilhole, and Richard H. Neale, "A Grounded Theory of Women's Career Underachievement in Large UK Construction Companies," *Construction Management and Economics* 18, no. 2 (2000).

¹³ Alvesson and Billing, *Understanding Gender*, 32.

firms mentioned in the responses cited in the following chapters may refer to any one of the three partner firms, but also any firm that informants have previously worked for. Thus, the information about careers in architecture gathered from the informants was, advantageously, both current and retrospective.¹⁴

Gender research in the current century has emphasised the intersectionality of identity categories, considering that investigating gender on its own is problematic.¹⁵ However, the larger project of which this dissertation is a discrete part was predicated on the study of women, and access to the partner firms was based on the same premise. Introducing other identity categories may have jeopardised the project. Nonetheless, where intersections are clearly implicated in the research material gathered for this dissertation, they are commented upon throughout the text.

Selection of the Firms

In 2009, a member of the larger project team, Professor Sandra Kaji-O'Grady, conducted a brief survey of national commercial large practices to determine those with the highest numbers of women at senior levels.¹⁶ Two firms with high female representation at senior levels agreed to be research partners, which beneficially allowed access to a range of senior women. A third firm, with a lesser proportion of women but with a number of staff whom Kaji-O'Grady knew, was also interested in the project and became the third partner. To an extent this selection was expedient—dependent on Kaji-O'Grady's contacts and those practices with the means and will to be involved in an Australian Research Council Linkage Project. However, the study of large firms was also a way of accessing a large number of people with a range of career experiences.

At the time of selection (2009), the three partner firms each employed over 200 staff nation-wide. Two had offices in a number of cities in Australia and one had international offices.¹⁷ The Sydney offices were the main focus of the study, but some interviews were conducted with staff in Brisbane and Melbourne. The selection of offices in large cities contrasts with some British interview-based studies of architects that have favoured either the Midlands or Scotland.¹⁸ In Australia, architects are

¹⁴ Charlotte McLeod, Stephanie O'Donohoe, and Barbara Townley, "Pot Noodles, Placements and Peer Regard: Creative Career Trajectories and Communities of Practice in the British Advertising Industry," *British Journal of Management* 22, no. 1 (2011).

¹⁵ Joan Acker, "Inequality Regimes: Gender, Class, and Race in Organizations," *Gender & Society* 20, no. 4 (2006); Sumi Cho, Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, and Leslie McCall, "Toward a Field of Intersectionality Studies: Theory, Applications, and Praxis," *Signs* 38, no. 4 Intersectionality: Theorizing Power, Empowering Theory (2013).

¹⁶ Sandra Kaji-O'Grady, e-mail to author, November 28, 2011.

¹⁷ Senior people in the firms often referred to the office as the studio, invoking the ideal of creative artist work and connecting back to university schools of architecture nomenclature. I will use offices as this was commonly used by most people.

¹⁸ Midlands: Valerie Caven, "Constructing a Career: Women Architects at Work," *Career Development International* 9, no. 5 (2004); Laurie Cohen, Adrian Wilkinson, John Arnold, and Rachael Finn, "'Remember I'm the Bloody Architect!': Architects, Organizations and Discourses of Profession," *Work, Employment & Society* 19, no. 4 (2005). Scotland: Bridget Fowler and Fiona Wilson, "Women Architects and Their Discontents," *Sociology* 38, no. 1 (2004); Mary Shepard Spaeth and Katarzyna Kosmala,

concentrated in the state and territory capitals, and Sydney has the highest number of architects.¹⁹ The three partner firms are commercial rivals, competing to secure similar types of projects from similar clients: commercial work for corporations and developers, such as office towers, multi-residential developments (generally high-rise), and workplace design; and government and social infrastructure work, such as hospitals, university buildings, transport buildings (airports, train stations), defence work, and cultural buildings. All received awards at the 2012 Australian Institute of Architects (AIA) National Awards, and all can be considered high-profile architectural practices.

Because the firms were partners to the research, access was relatively easy, although the firms differed in how open they were with information. Overall, they were generous and tolerant of a researcher being in their offices.²⁰

Implementing the Research

The initial plan was to conduct interviews over a period of three or four days. In preparing for these interviews, it became clear that additional forms of information-gathering would enrich the project. Complex issues such as gender require multiple forms of information. Paul Atkinson and Martyn Hammersley argue that because “all classes of data have their problems, and all are produced socially; none can be treated as ‘transparent’ representations of ‘reality’.”²¹ Therefore, the more varied the sources, the more detailed and nuanced the description and potential understanding of how gendering processes might be operating.²² Tony Watson goes so far as to argue that while survey methods are limited in their ability to investigate matters involving social interactions, interviews without other sources “may be little better.”²³ In interviews, people tend to give normative responses to questions, speaking what they think the interviewer might want to hear and/or what they think ought to be happening.²⁴ Nonetheless, these norms were of interest as indicative of shared professional understandings.

In response to the limitations of interviews alone, the research design shifted towards an ethnographic approach, and the duration of stay in each office was extended. Michael Angrosino describes ethnographic methodology as field-based and personalised, with day-in-day-out

“Identification through Disidentification: A Life Course Perspective on Professional Belonging,” *Architectural Theory Review* 17, no. 2–3 (2012).

¹⁹ Appendix B, Table B-7 and Figure B-1.

²⁰ As a condition of their involvement, and at the technical conclusion of the project in 2014, each of the three firms was provided with a report that covered observations and some suggestions for how gender equity might be improved in that practice.

²¹ Paul Atkinson and Martyn Hammersley, *Ethnography: Principles in Practice* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2007), 130.

²² Tony J. Watson, “Ethnography, Reality, and Truth: The Vital Need for Studies of ‘How Things Work’ in Organizations and Management,” *Journal of Management Studies* 48, no. 1 (2011): 206.

²³ *Ibid.*, 204. Also advised by Atkinson and Hammersley, *Ethnography*, 180.

²⁴ Garry Stevens, *The Favored Circle: The Social Foundations of Architectural Distinction* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998), 52; Watson, “Ethnography, Reality, and Truth,” 211.

immersion in a culture.²⁵ Known as participant observation, this immersion allows interview material to be contextualised by relating “the words spoken and the practices observed or experienced to the overall cultural framework within which they occurred.”²⁶ While Stephanie Taylor reports developments and disputes within the ethnographic field, she argues that it can formulate knowledge that has a wider reference beyond the local.²⁷ This approach therefore provided a way to extend the project’s conclusions. There are three key aspects to ethnographic work: the study of culture; full immersion into that culture through participant observation; and the importance of researcher reflexivity.

The clear emphasis on ‘culture’ in ethnography reflects its origin in anthropology. Culture is a contested term, although John Van Maanen argues it “simply refers to the meanings and practices produced, sustained, and altered through interaction. [...] [M]ore important perhaps is not what culture is [...] but what culture does.”²⁸ This research project addresses what the culture of the architecture profession ‘does’ to the women and men within it in Australia.

Ethnographic research is often commenced on the basis of a complete lack of knowledge of the culture to be investigated, making the researcher (theoretically) hyper-sensitive to the particularities of the setting.²⁹ However, not all ethnography emerges from this stance. Watson argues that his management skills give him better access to an organisation, as he is able to communicate through a common language.³⁰ Given that I am an architect, a similar knowledge base was the standpoint of this research project. This meant that I was familiar with much of what was occurring in the offices, and I could maintain my focus on observing interactions closely. Additionally, architects tend to think that no one else quite understands or appreciates what they do and under what conditions,³¹ and I therefore had a communality with those interviewed and observed. I also have been in architecture long enough to be wary of some of its mythologies and ideologies, and therefore less vulnerable to the thrall that architecture has cast over some external observers. But, likewise, I have been out of practice long enough to be less cynical than some of its internal observers.³² However, to fully achieve day-in-day-out immersion requires months, sometimes years, in a location. Due to time and financial constraints in this project, only three to four weeks was possible. Being a ‘native’

²⁵ Michael V. Angrosino, *Doing Ethnographic and Observational Research* (London: SAGE Publications, 2008), 19–20.

²⁶ Watson, “Ethnography, Reality, and Truth,” 205.

²⁷ Stephanie Taylor, *Ethnographic Research: A Reader* (London: SAGE Publications, 2002), 5.

²⁸ John Van Maanen, “Ethnography as Work: Some Rules of Engagement,” *Journal of Management Studies* 48, no. 1 (2011): 221.

²⁹ Beynon cited in Atkinson and Hammersley, *Ethnography*, 71.

³⁰ Watson, “Ethnography, Reality, and Truth,” 215.

³¹ “[E]ven when we’re not at work or studying we have to hang out with other architects because they are the only people who really understand us.” Sarah Herbert in “Becoming an Architect,” *Australian Institute of Architects*, accessed July 2014, <http://www.architecture.com.au/architecture/national/becoming-an-architect>.

³² Stevens observes the thrall in psychologists, Stevens, *The Favored Circle*, 10. But, at times, he seems to succumb to the cynicism.

researcher (that is, an architect) meant that this restricted length of time was perhaps less problematic than it might have been for a 'naïve' researcher, as I had a 'head start.'³³

According to Van Maanen, whether an insider or outsider, no researcher "is free of culture, prevailing discourse, unreflective rituals, habits of thought, and rather established snug if not smug ways of seeing and being."³⁴ Any researcher shapes their research and proceeds in expectation of certain behaviour, and I was (and am) by no means neutral. Social constructionism argues that neutrality is never possible, and therefore reflexivity is important at all stages of research.³⁵ This requires a constant checking of inferences and assumptions, of paying attention to appearances but not accepting anything at face value, of seeking to understand different views, and examining the context within which people act.³⁶ With gender studies, there is also a danger of what Alvesson and Billing call gender 'over-sensitivity'; that is, reading gender as the sole cause of what is observed,³⁷ when there might be multiple and complex factors at play. Reflexivity is a way of controlling this tendency. It requires a constant questioning, and necessitates a viewing of the subject from multiple angles.³⁸ Over the course of the project, this became easier. However, the gravitational pull of preconceptions built from a life-time of experience in architecture remained strong.

Gathering Information

This section details the range of information-gathering methods employed in the research, which drew on past similar studies from the secondary literature. Initially, a quantitative snapshot of the firms' staff was mapped. This enabled the identification of suitable interviewees, who were then interviewed in a semi-structured manner. Participants and other staff were also observed in action.

Staff Profile Mapping

Elin Kvande and Bente Rasmussen's study of engineers detailed a technique of staff-profiling to aid interviewee selection.³⁹ This involved collating a quantitative 'snapshot' of all the staff. To walk into the offices of any of the three partner firms is to walk into a space that does not seem to be male-dominated. Indeed, women accounted for 46% of the overall staff number, with the proportion

³³ Jacqueline H. Watts, "'The Outsider Within': Dilemmas of Qualitative Feminist Research within a Culture of Resistance," *Qualitative Research* 6, no. 3 (2006): 399.

³⁴ Van Maanen, "Ethnography as Work," 227.

³⁵ Gergen and Gergen, "Social Constructionism," 819.

³⁶ Atkinson and Hammersley, *Ethnography*, 231.

³⁷ Alvesson and Billing, *Understanding Gender*, 8.

³⁸ Mats Alvesson, "Beyond Neopositivists, Romantics, and Localists: A Reflexive Approach to Interviews in Organizational Research," *The Academy of Management Review* 28, no. 1 (2003): 25.

³⁹ Elin Kvande and Bente Rasmussen, "Men in Male-Dominated Organizations and Their Encounter with Women Intruders," *Scandinavian Journal of Management* 10, no. 2 (1994).

in individual offices ranging from 40% to 52%. Given this project's specific concern with architectural graduates, those staff in the partner firms with other qualifications, such as accountancy or interior design, and support staff (administrative and technical) were separated out. Of the overall staff with qualifications in architecture, women comprised 36%, with individual office proportions ranging from 33% to 39%. Further information about these individuals was then gathered from the firms' human resources data, which included length of time with the firm, age, registration status, membership of the AIA, employment status (full-time/part-time), and where qualifications were attained. This information helped refine the selection of interviewees.

Cohort Bands of Years since Graduation

The numbers of years since graduation with the professional Master's degree were divided into five-year bands, since, on average, it takes five years after graduation to attain formal registration status.⁴⁰ Four bands were formed, some of which were subdivided,⁴¹ as follows:

- Cohort One: those who had not yet graduated with the Master's professional degree (One/a), and those with five-years-or-less post-Master's experience (One/b);
- Cohort Two: those with six- to ten-years post-Master's experience;
- Cohort Three: those with eleven- to fifteen-years post-Master's experience;
- Cohort Four: those with sixteen-plus-years post-Master's experience, further divided into sub-bands—Four/a, sixteen- to twenty years; Four/b, twenty-one- to twenty-five years; and Four/c, twenty-five-plus years.

The numbers of years since graduation from the Master's degree is an approximate measure of equivalent experience. The possibility of part-time architectural work while studying, and full-time work during holidays and between degrees, added to experience but was not calculable. Notably, it was uncommon for graduates to have no experience at all.

From henceforth, all the staff information will be for the combined staff of the three partner firms. Figure 4-1 and Figure 4-2 show the distribution of the architectural staff across all the firms, demonstrating a lesser proportion of senior women.

⁴⁰ Rob Cowdroy, ed. *Architects' Transition from Graduation to Registration* (Sydney: The Board of Architects of NSW, 1995), 3.

⁴¹ There were too few staff to allow separate full bands for these groups.

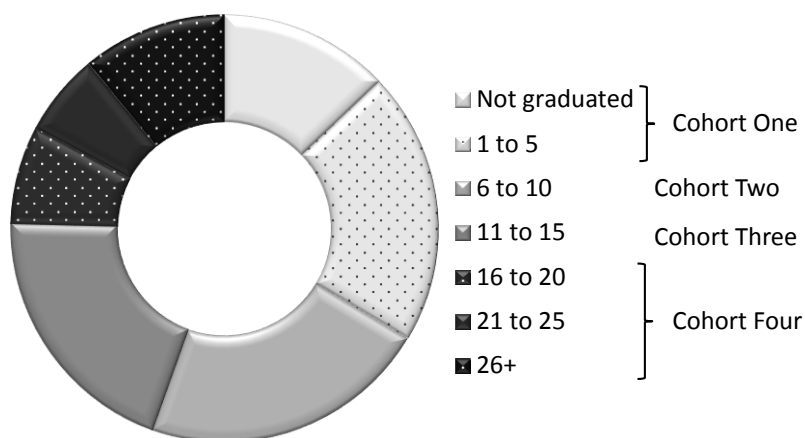


Figure 4-1: Distribution of All Architectural Staff by Cohort

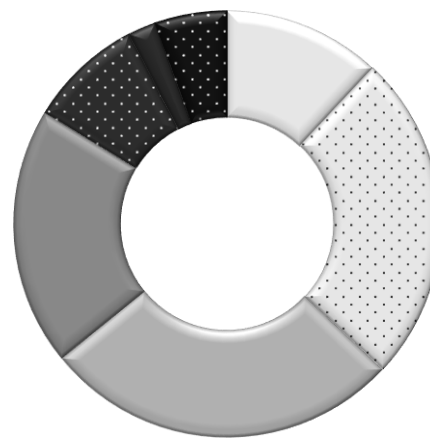


Figure 4-2: Distribution of All Female Architectural Staff by Cohort

Source: Data derived from information supplied by partner architecture firms.

Figure 4-2 and Table 4-1 detail the distribution of women within the cohorts. Different offices had different distributions, but, in general, women were concentrated in Cohorts One and Two.

Table 4-1: All Architectural Staff Numbers by Cohort, Total and Women

	Number of Staff	Percentage of All Architectural Staff	Number of Women	Percentage Women in Cohort
One/a: Not grad	33	13%	11	33%
One/b: 0–5	53	21%	23	43%
Cohort One: <5	86	34%	34	40%
Cohort Two: 6–10	56	22%	25	45%
Cohort Three: 11–16	51	20%	18	35%
Four/a: 16–20	19	7%	8	42%
Four/b: 21–25	16	6%	2	13%
Four/c: 26+	28	11%	5	18%
Cohort Four: 16+	63	24%	15	24%
Total	256		92	36%

Source: Data derived from information supplied by partner architecture firms.

Figure 4-3 plots the percentage of women architectural staff by Cohorts compared to approximate graduation rate of women, and the 2011 Census-determined participation in the workforce. In Cohort One, the group of firms was employing women students (One/a) at a proportion well below their presence in the schools (although this is a highly fluctuating population in any firm). Aside from this, the firms were employing above or very near to graduation and Census rates, with the exception of Cohorts Three and Four/b. There were fewer staff and incomplete graduation data for Cohort Four, but, overall, women comprised 24% of the staff in Cohort Four, compared with 19%

in the Census. That the firms generally had higher proportions of women than the Census was not surprising given that they were selected on the basis of a high presence of senior women staff.

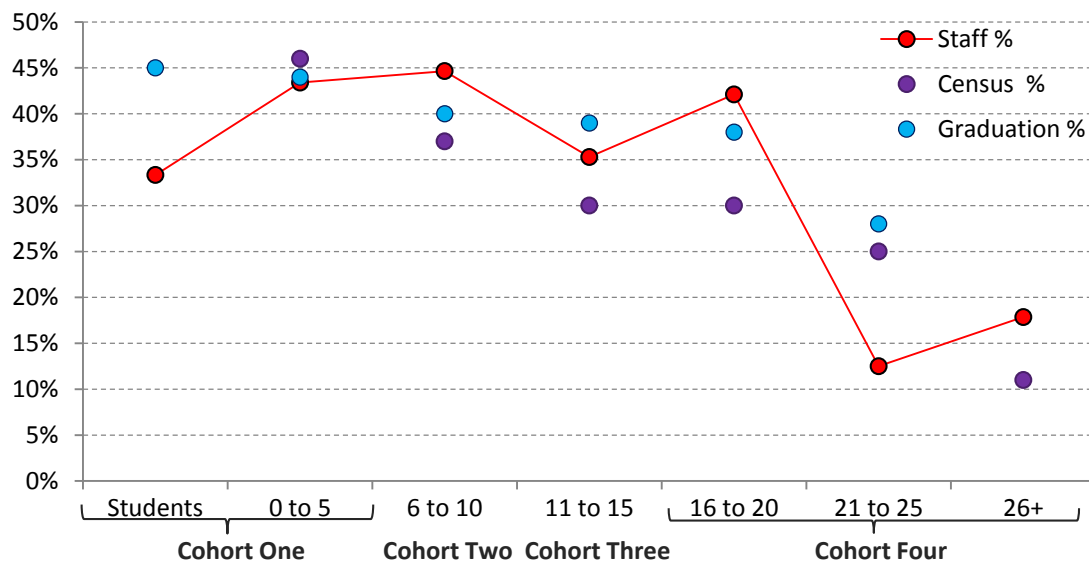


Figure 4-3: All Architectural Staff, Proportion of Women Compared to Approximate Female Graduation Rates and 2011 Census Participation Rates

Sources: Visual analysis of data from Table 4-1, Figure 2-4, and Appendix B, Table B-1.

The cohort bands were the primary means of selecting interviewees, but, within each band, there were further subgroups. Seniority or rank was one such subgroup and it helped to pinpoint the progress of women within the firms.

Seniority Bands

Each practice had its own hierarchy and nomenclature, which were aligned to create tiers relatively consistent across all three practices. The first three tiers have formal titles. One firm did not identify anyone as ‘senior’ (Tiers 4 and 5), and so decisions regarding seniority were based on direct observation of the work the person was doing, although equivalence was at times difficult to ascertain. In descending order, the tiers are as follows:

- Tier 1: financial partners in the firm (owners);
- Tier 2: senior with high levels of responsibility but not financial involvement;
- Tier 3: senior with medium levels of responsibility, consistently called Associates;
- Tier 4: usually registered *and* identified by the practice or observation as senior;
- Tier 5: registered and without title, *or* not registered but identified as senior as for Tier 4;
- Tier 6: architectural graduates, not-registered and not identified as senior;
- Tier 7: without professional degree and working full-time;
- Tier 8: part-time students, including both undergraduate and Master’s students.

Table 4-2 shows the distribution of staff at each tier level across the offices. As might be expected, there is a steady rise of tier level achieved with years of experience. However, there are male outliers, suggesting that men might be achieving higher levels earlier than women. This is also suggested by an apparent ceiling for women between Tiers 3 and 2.

Table 4-2: Distribution of All Architectural Staff by Cohort and Tier Level



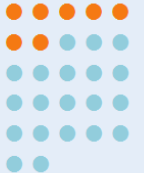









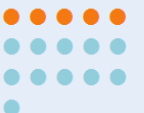






	Cohort One % women of cohort 40%	Cohort Two 45%	Cohort Three 35%	Cohort Four 24%	% women of Tier
1 Owners			●	● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●	13%
2			● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●	● ●	18%
3 Associates	●	● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●	● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●	● ●	35%
4	●	● ● ● ● ●	● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●	● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●	48%
5	● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●	● ●	● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●		47%
6 Graduates	● ●	● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●			38%
7 Trainees	● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●				25%
8 Students	● ●		Legend ● Women ● Men		39%

Source: Data derived from information supplied by partner architecture firms.

Professional Measures

Overall, membership of the AIA was very low (less than 20%), and concentrated at Tier 1 and 2 levels to the degree that it was not useful as a selection mechanism. Table 4-3 shows the attainment of registration for eligible staff (those with less than two years since graduation are not included).

Table 4-3: Staff Status, Registration

		Cohort One	Cohort Two	Cohort Three	Cohort Four	% women
Australian	Registered					30%
	Lapsed Registered					55%
	Not Registered					46%
	Percentage of women registered	13%	60%	54%	64%	
	Percentage of men registered	21%	39%	77%	85%	
International	Registered					34%
	Not Registered					33%

Source: Data derived from information supplied by partner architecture firms, cross-checked with AACA, "Architects Rolls," Architects Accreditation Council of Australia, accessed September 2012, (page removed), <http://www.aaca.org.au/architect-rolls/>.

The more years' experience, the more likely people were to be registered, but there was a gender and generational difference in attainment. In the senior cohorts, the men's registration proportion significantly exceeded women's; in Cohort Two the opposite was true. Of all the Australian-graduated staff, 41% were not registered, with lapsed registration accounting for 7% of that tally. This makes the firms' rate of not-registered staff higher than that determined in Chapter 2 for the overall workforce (34%), which suggests that larger firms are a haven for the not-registered. In contrast, overall, the registered women in the offices accounted for 30% of the registered staff, a rate higher than the general registered architectural population (21%).⁴²

⁴² Table 2-15.

Interviewee Selection

Analysis of the staff profile mapping helped determine the selection of interview subjects. More people were selected from the six- to fifteen-years post-graduation cohorts because other studies have identified this period as the most problematic for women.⁴³ Although both women and men were selected, because gendering processes impact more profoundly on women, they were over-sampled. The final female to male ratio was 1.6 to 1.

Following the protocol of Kvande and Rasmussen and others,⁴⁴ I attempted to select women and men in matched pairs in terms of years of experience since graduation and level in the organisation. However, such pairs were difficult to find, especially within a single office, due to a number of factors. First, the offices were much smaller than the organisations that other studies had investigated, so there were fewer available candidates. Second, these firms did not have highly attenuated hierarchies, which meant there were fewer discrete categories to mark career progress. Third, as mentioned earlier, architects are highly mobile and do not necessarily follow career trajectories within a firm.⁴⁵ Finally, there were unanticipated variables complicating comparison, the most prominent of which was the number of staff with international qualifications—one-quarter (Table 4-4).

Table 4-4: Percentage of Cohorts with International Qualifications

	Cohort One	Cohort Two	Cohort Three	Cohort Four	Overall
Percentage internationally qualified	13%	32%	33%	27%	25%

Source Data derived from information supplied by partner architecture firms.

An architecture degree from a non-Australian university has a significant impact on whether someone can attain registration in Australia.⁴⁶ While each firm varied in whether registration was an important factor for progression (one had recently made it a condition of all promotions), this variable complicated direct comparison. These high numbers also made it difficult not to include them, and many international employees were not passing through but rather staying and making their careers in Australia. Seventeen interviewees were graduates from non-Australian universities,

⁴³ Dainty, Bagilhole, and Neale, "A Grounded Theory," 142; Kvande and Rasmussen, "Men in Male-Dominated Organizations; Cuff, *Architecture*, 137.

⁴⁴ Kvande and Rasmussen, "Men in Male-Dominated Organizations; Dainty, Bagilhole, and Neale, "A Grounded Theory."

⁴⁵ Page 13 of this thesis. Also, Valerie Caven, "Career Building: Women and Non-Standard Employment in Architecture," *Construction Management and Economics* 24, no. 5 (2006).

⁴⁶ An international candidate's student work is assessed for academic equivalence, "Overseas Qualifications Assessment; Review of Academic Equivalence," *Architects Accreditation Council of Australia*, <http://www.aaca.org.au/registration-as-an-architect/overseas-educated/final-assessment/>. Graduates since 2010 might benefit from the Canberra Accord, which recognises equivalency between systems of architectural education in Australia and some other countries (although the AACA website makes no mention of this agreement). Canberra Accord, "Recognition of Substantial Equivalency Between Accreditation/Validation Systems in Architectural Education," *Canberra Secretariat*, accessed August 2015, <http://www.canberraaccord.org/resources/home.aspx>.

mainly in the senior cohorts (a small number were Australian-born and had studied overseas). Another six had come to Australia to study, and English was their second language, mainly in the junior cohorts. Overall, one-third of the interviewees were not born in Australia.⁴⁷ A further 10% described themselves as first-generation Australians. This variety meant that Anglo-Australians did not overly dominate the sample, although they comprised approximately one-half of the interviewees.

Overall, these factors meant that tracking in the same manner as Kvande and Rasmussen was not possible, but the profile map was nonetheless useful for selection. Two of the firms identified some individuals whom they thought would be of interest to the study. However, the profile map meant I retained overall control in interviewee selection.⁴⁸ In all, seventy architectural staff were interviewed. Table 4-5 shows the interviewees by both level and cohort.

Table 4-5: Interviewees, Years since Graduation with Architecture Degree, Cohorts and Ranks

Tier Level	Cohort One			Cohort Two			Cohort Three			Cohort Four								
	Non & 0–5			6–10			11–15			16–20 (Four/a)			21–25 (Four/b)			26+ (Four/c)		
	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total
T1										1	2	3	1		1	1	1	2
T2							3	1	4	1	1	2	1	2	3	1	2	3
T3		1	1	2		2	3	4	7	2	1	3	1		1	1		1
T4				2	1	3	4	1	5	2		2						
T5	1	1	2	4	3	7	1	1	2									
T6	5	2	7	3	1	4												
T7	2	1	3															
T8	1	1	2															
	9	6	15	11	5	16	11	7	18	6	4	10	3	2	5	3	3	6

Interviews

Participation was voluntary; one person declined and two were too busy. Interviews varied from forty minutes to nearly two hours—usually those at the more senior levels spoke for longer. A number of interviews had to be curtailed due to work pressures, but, in general, interviewees were generous with their time and thoughts.

Each interviewee cited in this dissertation was identified in the following manner: F/M (for gender) followed by a unique two digit number (randomly assigned from 1 to 70)•Tier level•Cohort number. So F56•T4•4a would be a female, number 56 at Tier 4, with sixteen to twenty years post-graduation

⁴⁷ In the overall Australian population, 28% are not Australian born. ABS, “Estimated resident Population by Country of Birth—1992 to 2014,” *Australian Bureau of Statistics*, accessed July 2015, <http://stat.abs.gov.au/Index.aspx?QueryId=743>.

⁴⁸ Atkinson and Hammersley, *Ethnography*, 104.

experience. In some instances, I have refrained from even using this coding to detach quotes from other comments by the same person, if that might lead to identification (see the ethical considerations section later in this chapter).

Tables 4-6, 4-7, 4-8, and 4-9 give some basic details of the interviewees by cohort.

Table 4-6: Cohort One Interviewees

ID Code	Gender	Age range	Registration status	Level	Years with firm	Notes
M49•T8•1a	Male	20-29	Not eligible	Tier 8	<2	
F17•T8•1a	Female	20-29	Not eligible	Tier 8	<2	
F06•T7•1a	Female	20-29	Not eligible	Tier 7	<2	
M47•T7•1a	Male	20-29	Not eligible	Tier 7	<2	
F31•T7•1a	Female	20-29	Not eligible	Tier 7	<2	
F24•T5•1b	Female	20-29	Not eligible	Tier 5	2 to 5	
M43•T6•1b	Male	20-29	Not eligible	Tier 6	<2	
F35•T6•1b	Female	20-29	Not registered	Tier 6	2 to 5	
F29•T6•1b	Female	20-29	Planning to apply	Tier 6	2 to 5	
M08•T6•1b	Male	20-29	Planning to apply; Internationally qualified	Tier 6	2 to 5	
F57•T6•1b	Female	30-39	Planning to apply	Tier 6	2 to 5	
M38•T5•1b	Male	30-39	Not registered	Tier 5	<2	
M63•T3•1b	Male	30-39	Registered	Tier 3	6 to 10	Children
F28•T6•1b	Female	20-29	Pending registration	Tier 6	<2	
F65•T6•1b	Female	30-39	Not registered	Tier 6	2 to 5	Children

Table 4-7: Cohort Two Interviewees

ID Code	Gender	Age range	Registration status	Level	Years with firm	Notes
F16•T5•2	Female	30-39	Registered	Tier 5	2 to 5	
F58•T6•2	Female	30-39	Not registered	Tier 6	2 to 5	
M26•T5•2	Male	30-39	Not registered; Internationally qualified	Tier 5	6 to 10	
F48•T6•2	Female	30-39	Applying soon	Tier 6	2 to 5	
F69•T4•2	Female	30-39	Registered	Tier 4	2 to 5	
M02•T5•2	Male	30-39	Registered	Tier 5	6 to 10	
F12•T5•2	Female	40-49	Registered	Tier 5	6 to 10	Children
M53•T6•2	Male	30-39	Not registered	Tier 6	<2	
F40•T3•2	Female	30-39	Registered	Tier 3	6 to 10	
F36•T5•2	Female	30-39	Pending registration	Tier 5	2 to 5	
F61•T4•2	Female	30-39	Registered	Tier 4	6 to 10	
F44•T5•2	Female	30-39	Internationally registered & qualified	Tier 5	<2	
M20•T5•2	Male	30-39	Registered	Tier 5	6 to 10	Children
F07•T3•2	Female	30-39	Not registered; Internationally qualified	Tier 3	6 to 10	
M30•T4•2	Male	30-39	Registered	Tier 4	<2	
F66•T6•2	Female	30-39	Pending registration	Tier 5	<2	

Table 4-8: Cohort Three Interviewees

ID Code	Gender	Age range	Registration status	Level	Years with firm	Full/part time	Notes
F39•T3•3	Female	30-39	Registered	Tier 3	16 to 20		Children
M46•T5•3	Male	30-39	Registered	Tier 5	<2		Children
M67•T3•3	Male	30-39	Registered; internationally qualified	Tier 3	<2		Children
M04•T3•3	Male	30-39	Registered	Tier 3	11 to 15		
F55•T3•3	Female	30-39	Registered	Tier 3	2 to 5		Children
M22•T2•3	Male	30-39	Registered	Tier 2	2 to 5		Children
F59•T4•3	Female	30-39	Registered	Tier 4	<2		
F33•T4•3	Female	30-39	Registered	Tier 4	2 to 5		Children
F10•T4•3	Female	30-39	Not registered	Tier 4	6 to 10		
M14•T3•3	Male	30-39	Not registered	Tier 3	2 to 5		Children
F51•T5•3	Female	40-49	Internationally registered & qualified	Tier 5	2 to 5		Children
F42•T3•3	Female	30-39	Registered	Tier 3	6 to 10		Children
F19•T2•3	Female	30-39	Lapsed registration	Tier 2	2 to 5		Children
F27•T4•3	Female	30-39	Not registered; Internationally qualified	Tier 4	11 to 15		Children
M01•T4•3	Male	30-39	Not registered; Internationally qualified	Tier 4	2 to 5		
F62•T2•3	Female	30-39	Registered	Tier 2	11 to 15		Children
M70•T3•3	Male	50-59	Registered	Tier 3	11 to 15		
F25•T2•3	Female	40-49	Lapsed registration	Tier 2	6 to 10		Children

Table 4-9: Cohort Four Interviewees

ID Code	Gender	Age range	Registration status	Level	Years with firm	Notes
F50•T3•4a	Female	40-49	Not registered	Tier 3	11 to 15	Children
F68•T3•4a	Female	40-49	Internationally registered & qualified	Tier 3	1 to 5	Children
M52•T3•4a	Male	40-49	Registered	Tier 3	6 to 10	Children
F64•T2•4a	Female	40-49	Registered; Internationally qualified	Tier 2	6 to 10	Children
M05•T2•4a	Male	40-49	Not registered; Internationally qualified	Tier 2	6 to 10	Children
F03•T4•4a	Female	40-49	Registered	Tier 4	1 to 5	Children
F45•T4•4a	Female	40-49	Registered	Tier 4	1 to 5	Children
M54•T1•4a	Male	40-49	Registered	Tier 1	6 to 10	Children
F32•T1•4a	Female	40-49	Registered	Tier 1	16 to 20	Children
M11•T1•4a	Male	40-49	Registered	Tier 1	16 to 20	Children
M21•T2•4b	Male	40-49	Not registered; Internationally qualified	Tier 2	1 to 5	Children
M37•T2•4b	Male	40-49	Registered	Tier 2	16 to 20	Children
F60•T3•4b	Female	40-49	Not registered; Internationally qualified	Tier 3	11 to 15	Children
F34•T1•4b	Female	40-49	Registered	Tier 1	6 to 10	
F23•T3•4b	Female	40-49	Not registered; Internationally qualified	Tier 2	21 to 25	Children
F18•T2•4c	Female	40-49	Not registered	Tier 2	1 to 5	Children
M56•T2•4c	Male	40-49	Internationally registered & qualified	Tier 2	1 to 5	Children
F09•T3•4c	Female	40-49	Registered	Tier 3	26 to 30	Children
M13•T2•4c	Male	40-49	Not registered	Tier 2	21 to 25	Children
F15•T1•4c	Female	50-59	Registered	Tier 1	21 to 25	
M41•T1•4c	Male	50-59	Registered	Tier 1	16 to 20	Children

Interview Question Areas

The interviews were semi-structured, which meant that issues of interest were listed as question areas rather than precise questions (see Appendix F for interview question guide), leading to a “facilitated conversation.”⁴⁹ This allowed for a flexible approach to the discussion as some question areas were not relevant to all cohorts. The interview discussion areas were informed by studies by Bridget Fowler and Fiona Wilson,⁵⁰ Valerie Caven,⁵¹ Ina Wagner and Ruth Wodak,⁵² Judith Blau,⁵³ and Kvande and Rasmussen,⁵⁴ but also evolved over the period of the research to address the research questions.

There were three main discussion areas. First, individual career paths were discussed to trace the decisions made and under what conditions; the rewards and pressures; and the factors that may have helped or hindered career progression. The second area included questions around individual aspirations and perceptions of architecture to understand the factors constructing professional identity, and included ideas of what architects physically look like; perceptions of what is needed to be successful in the profession; and impressions on why women might not rise to higher levels. The final discussion area investigated how the work cultures of former and current workplaces operated to understand the variability of architecture firms.

Alvesson describes the interview situation as socially (and linguistically) complex.⁵⁵ He also argues that the ‘where’ and ‘who’ of the interview are critical.

Interview Context—Time and Location

The investigations took place from April 2012 to March 2013, a period when there was some stability in the profession, particularly in Sydney, but still not a secure job environment. One office had recently had some formal redundancies, and another had been experiencing a relatively high number of staff leaving over a short period. My arrival at two offices coincided with news of major changes to the firms. For one office, the news was unproblematic, but for the other it was unsettling, and this timing is likely to have affected individuals’ comments.

⁴⁹ Atkinson and Hammersley, *Ethnography*, 110.

⁵⁰ Fowler and Wilson, “Women Architects.”

⁵¹ Caven, “Constructing a Career.”

⁵² Ina Wagner and Ruth Wodak, “Performing Success: Identifying Strategies of Self-Presentation in Women’s Biographical Narratives,” *Discourse & Society* 17, no. 3 (2006).

⁵³ Judith R. Blau, *Architects and Firms: A Sociological Perspective on Architectural Practice* (Cambridge, MA; London: MIT Press, 1984).

⁵⁴ Kvande and Rasmussen, “Men in Male-Dominated Organizations.”

⁵⁵ Alvesson, “Beyond Neopositivist,” 14.

The location of interviews also has an effect. Mary Kay Quinlan describes how “whenever interview participants have to vie with their surroundings to focus on the topic at hand, the dynamics of the interview will change.”⁵⁶ In one office, all interviews were secluded and private. In another, the interview rooms were visible to those passing through the reception area, and, due to intense booking of these rooms, nearly one-third of the interviews took place in cafés and foyers with attendant background noise and distractions. In a third office, the interviews were held generally in a large open area. Although the possibility of overhearing the conversation was low, it was clear to others as to who was being interviewed. These different environments inevitably affected people’s responses.

Interview Context—The Interviewer

The ‘who’ of the interviewer is also critical. As Quinlan observes:

Relative age, gender, race or ethnic background, educational background, social status, religion, regional identity, relationship to each other, and even relative degree of emotional commitment to the project are among the key factors that can affect the interview dynamics.⁵⁷

I was a woman of a certain age, from a university ‘doing some research’ that the firm, but not necessarily every member of staff with whom I spoke, had committed to. For one young interviewee, the interview was followed by an advice session because a high degree of distress was apparent. In her discussion of the challenges of feminist research ethics, Jacqueline Watts identifies this as a dilemma for interviewers.⁵⁸ Like Watts, in the face of such a reaction, I felt obliged to step beyond the role of interviewer and assist. Several interviewees gave short answers, giving the impression of both being busy and disagreeing with the premise of the research. Another interviewee stated that the experience was cathartic and thanked me profusely; for her, I was a confidante. Consequently, as an interviewer, I was not a “simple conduit for answers but rather [...] deeply implicated in the production of answers.”⁵⁹

My strength in this situation was being a ‘native’ in the world of architectural work.⁶⁰ My primary approach was to use my background, sometimes as a simple anecdotal story-swap to encourage the sharing of experiences, but mainly to indicate that I too had been through the process of becoming an architect, so interviewees didn’t need to over-explain. Generally, this worked well and often

⁵⁶ Mary Kay Quinlan, “The Dynamics of Interviewing,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History*, ed. Donald A. Ritchie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Watts, “The Outsider Within,” 394.

⁵⁹ Schneider cited in Alvesson, “Beyond Neopositivist,” 19.

⁶⁰ Although I was from out of town (Brisbane), and not Australian.

resulted in very candid comments. However, re-reading the transcripts it also meant that I sometimes did not always fully interrogate issues raised. In the moment, a statement seemed unproblematic, but, on review, there were unexplored implications. Some of these problems were no doubt due to being an inexperienced interviewer. Anne Pezalla and colleagues describe the ‘classic mistakes’ of the novice interviewer as “asking long, complicated questions, posturing closed yes-or-no questions, and leading respondents.”⁶¹ There is evidence of all of these mistakes in the transcripts. In addition, Ben Lupton suggests that, with a shared background, the interviewer can inadvertently advance a particular view.⁶² There is also some occasional evidence of this in the transcripts. In addition, perhaps one of the flaws of the research design was the wide scope of question areas and the large number of interviews. While not naïve in terms of the profession, I was in terms of conducting this kind of study. This wide scope of questions sometimes meant that depth was not achieved. Given that Pezalla et al are experienced interviewers and still made similar mistakes, such errors are perhaps inevitable with interviewing. This is one reason why participant observation is useful.

Participant Observation

In the ethnographic tradition, immersion in a culture involves participating. I had thought that being an architect might mean I could partake in the actual work of the office, but, on location, this was not possible. Angrosino details a continuum of participant observation from full immersion to a level of detachment.⁶³ This research was somewhere in the middle.

My architectural experience meant I was able to understand the subject matter of the conversations I was hearing and the nature of the work I was observing. The interactions and tasks I saw were familiar to me: people discussing and producing drawings, models and documentation for all stages of a building project; conversing with colleagues; listening to music through earphones in order to concentrate; eliciting information on the phone; meeting in person with consultants or clients or team members; investigating materials and furniture; or being on construction sites.

I sat at any spare workstation available, which meant I moved to different places within firms observing local interactions. That I sat at a computer meant I merged into the background and looked like any other worker, and, after a short time, was perhaps forgotten and could observe the day-to-day incidents and casual operation of the workplace.

⁶¹ Anne E. Pezalla, Jonathan Pettigrew, and Michelle Miller-Day, “Researching the Researcher-as-Instrument: An Exercise in Interviewer Self-Reflexivity,” *Qualitative Research* 12, no. 2 (2012): 181.

⁶² Ben Lupton, “Maintaining Masculinity: Men Who Do ‘Women’s Work’,” *British Journal of Management* 11, no. 3 (2000): S37.

⁶³ Angrosino, *Doing Ethnographic*, 6.

The extended stay of three to four weeks in the offices was long enough to allow some information gathering that would not have been possible in a shorter time. I was able to interview preferred people because I could work around their schedules—in some instances, it took several weeks for a particular person to become available. I was also able to have numerous informal conversations with other individuals in addition to the interviewees. These were usually prompted by questioning those with sufficient years' experience why they were not registered, and generally took place at people's desks. The chance of being overheard was much higher, but usually not problematic. However, there were a couple of occasions when answers were whispered, with eyes darting in case there were listeners of consequence. And sometimes conversations simply began by proximity, such as being in the lift together. These conversations were not usually very long (although some were), and a small number were instigated by informants who were especially interested in the research. All these conversations were recorded by field notes and written up soon afterwards. A few were recorded but not fully transcribed. These informants are identified in this dissertation in a similar manner to formal interviewees, but have a three-digit number instead of a two-digit one.

One of the main advantages of the extended period in the offices was that I could shadow a number of the interviewees, "observing as they move over time between different contexts."⁶⁴ For junior staff, this was not particularly revealing as their work typically involved sitting at a computer. However, senior staff had more variety in their work, and I shadowed a number of these women and men, observing them at formal meetings and multiple informal interactions. When shadowing, I sat close to the subject.

Changes

From the time of interviewing in 2012 and early 2013 until late 2014, it was possible to record changes in the staffing, such as promotions, registration, and leaving of the firms. Some were tracked through the internet and some by direct request. While not covering a long period of time, the data show the volatility of employment in architecture as well as the progression towards more senior status.

There was a slight increase in the total number of staff across the offices from 2012 to 2014, totalling 3%. However, there was a high turnover, with almost one-third (31%) of the 2012 architectural staff leaving (including retirees) during this time. This high level of churn within a two-year period is further evidence of architects forming their careers within the context of the profession as a whole, rather than within the one organisation. Overall, there was very little to

⁶⁴ Atkinson and Hammersley, *Ethnography*, 39.

differentiate between genders; however, cohort by cohort a different pattern emerged (Figure 4-4). In Cohorts One and Two, a greater percentage of men left than women, but for Cohorts Three and Four, the reverse was true (although lower numbers of women in these senior cohorts possibly distorted figures).

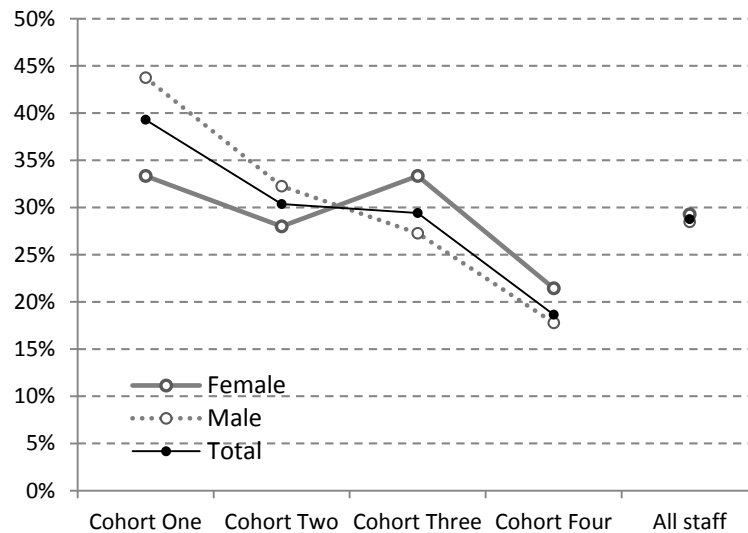


Figure 4-4: Architectural Staff Leaving, 2012–2014

Source: Visual analysis of data from information supplied by partner architecture firms and their websites.

Thirty-nine of the staff in the studied offices from 2012 were promoted over the two-year period, of whom women accounted for 44%. Specifically, women comprised 54% of the promotions to Tier 3 and 25% of those to Tier 2. The barrier between Tier 3 and Tier 2 visible in Table 4-2 was maintained by these promotions. In these offices, one woman and two men joined the Tier 1 group. However, in the three firms overall (rather than just the studied offices), women dropped their share of owners; in 2012, women constituted 23% of this level, but, by 2014, this figure was 18%.

Fifteen people became registered during this time, with women comprising two-thirds of that figure. The implications of this registration pattern, as well as movements of departure and promotion, will be discussed for each cohort in the following chapters.

Analysis of Information

With seventy people interviewed amounting to more than sixty-five hours of recording and over one thousand pages worth of transcription, plus field notes of observations and statistical information, there was a large quantity of complex and rich material to analyse. This process was formidable, although I had a high degree of familiarity with the data. While my experiences prior to the research inevitably shaped the interviews, the way in which I interpreted transcripts, and selected key

quotations in themes primarily arose through the reading, re-reading and interrogating of all the material. My approach paralleled the more familiar (to me) process of architectural design; namely, a constant worrying of the material to test assumptions and find other ways of interpreting the texts and my observations.

In general, answers to interview questions are complex, and constructed within a particular cultural context; therefore, they cannot be taken as “mirrors of reality.”⁶⁵ Alvesson argues that the contingencies of an interviewee’s performance and multiple layers of meaning need to be considered.⁶⁶ He lists three major elements, which can be adapted to my own research and experience: the first is the social scene between myself and the interviewee, as already discussed. The second is what might be behind my interviewee’s utterances, including impression management, politics, and motive. Third is the complexity of language: “language speaking behind and through the subject and constituting him/her, and language actively used by the speaker, evoking effects on listeners.”⁶⁷ Any statement by an interviewee may be affected by some or all of these elements, and may be viewed in multiple ways—something I maintained awareness of during the process of analysis.

Interviewees’ statements had also to be considered as reflective of the ‘professionally correct’ view of architecture, or, indeed, as resistance to that professional-correctness. Contradictions within accounts, and between accounts and observations, appeared. All those who have graduated from a five-year education/enculturation process are likely to “engage in similar impression management tactics or [be] caught in the same discourse.”⁶⁸ Impression management tactics and slips in the way that individuals speak and act can align (or not) an interviewee with certain discourse, and it is partly through that alignment (or misalignment) that some of the gendering processes in the profession became visible.

The complexities of the research material were multiple, and the analysis was thus a long and difficult process. Nonetheless, persistent and repeated readings of the transcripts unveiled recurrent themes and patterns, illuminating the multiple gender dimensions of the architecture profession.

⁶⁵ Alvesson, “Beyond Neopositivist,” 14.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 31.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 28.

Ethical Considerations and Ethics Clearance

Ethics clearance had been formally sought, and granted, for the larger project, by UQ's centrally-administered Human Research Ethics Committee, prior to my commencing work on the project. This application, which was prepared by the project leader Naomi Stead, included the research to be conducted for this dissertation. After I began work on the project and developed the ethnographic approach detailed in this chapter, I had the opportunity to offer revisions to the approved ethics application. This led to a formal amendment, prepared by me, to include the participant observation component of the research, consultation of internal policy and other documents from the three partner firms, and data on their workforce composition. The amendment was also made to more explicitly name me, and clarify my role as the primary researcher for the interviews and workplace research component of the larger project. The ethics clearance certificates, participant information sheet, and consent form are appended in Appendix G.

The ethical considerations for this dissertation, as a discrete part of the larger project, were twofold. The first and most significant was preserving confidentiality and privacy, while the second was the possibility of personal distress on the part of interviewees based on the subject matter under discussion.

The first consideration was particularly crucial in a project of this nature. Participants were employees of the partner architecture firms and may have chosen to be critical of their employer in the interviews; for example, making an unfavourable assessment of procedures for the promotion within the firm, or alleging sexual harassment or discrimination. It was important that participants felt able to make such criticisms, but that such comments not become known, and held against them by their employer or any other person or group. This risk was managed through the careful measures taken to assure confidentiality, detailed below.

The second consideration of possible personal distress emerging from the subject matter was managed in the way the interviews were conducted—participants were asked to talk about their experience of working in the architecture profession to the degree to which they were comfortable. At the outset of the interview, it was made clear that they could choose to withhold information they preferred not to divulge, including declining to answer any question for any reason. The research involved conversations about each individual's professional life and experiences, rather than personal matters. Although conversations sometimes strayed into such matters, they did so on the interviewee's terms.

Every interviewee was provided with an information sheet, which detailed the project, and the contact details of both Stead as the project leader (and principal supervisor) and an independent UQ ethics officer who was not part of the project. In the process of introducing the participant information sheet and consent form to interviewees, a verbal explanation was made that individuals needed to be happy with their participation, know that they were free to give information that they wished to give, but were also free to withhold information which may be culturally, politically, or socially sensitive. Participation was voluntary (even for those who had been ‘put forward’ by the partner practices), and it was explained that there would be no financial or other reward beyond assisting in the research project. Participants were also informed that they retained the right to withdraw from the project at any time and for any reason.

Participants consented that the conversations would be recorded for transcription, at which point, the transcript—and all those referred to in the interview—were dis-identified (although transcripts were stored in identifiable form so they could be found and removed if a participant chose to withdraw later). Some research participants were unconcerned with anonymity; however, all were anonymised, since identifying some potentially exposed others. The identification codes used in this dissertation, discussed earlier in this chapter, are a separate code to that used in the transcripts. This dual coding provides another layer of protection from identification. By agreement with the larger project team, the full transcripts were stored, viewed, and managed solely by me—none of the other researchers had access to them, although they have viewed dis-identified excerpts. All transcripts and recordings were at all times kept in secure, password-protected files. Transcripts were not sent to interviewees for approval, although they did have the option to request this, which one person did some time after the interview.

Conclusion

This chapter has detailed the methodology and sampling methods used for this research, along with some presentation of the difficulties encountered and the ethical issues. The next four chapters each address one cohort, in turn. This builds upon the argument advanced in Chapter 2: that ongoing pressures for women cause them to advance in their careers at a slower pace than men. Chapter 3 provided a way of viewing these pressures by considering the gendering processes occurring within the dimensions of structure, culture, interaction, and identity of the social structure of the architecture profession. The following chapters reveal what the particular pressures are for each career cohort in this group of architects. This, in turn, reveals how the priorities, practices, and ideologies within the Australian architecture profession form a gendered substructure, propelling or hindering careers for women over time.

Chapter 5 – Cohort One: Learning the Culture of Architecture



Illustration 5-1: Photograph Taken by Nick Bassett in One of the Three Partner Firms in 2012.¹

Dana Cuff characterises the entry-level years of a career in architecture as being a period of “gathering experience.”² This process usually lasts between three and five years after graduation, and so roughly corresponds with the experience of Cohort One in this study. These years are critical, as graduates move from a limited understanding of architecture to a deeper one, and from junior roles to those with increased responsibility. They are years of intense enculturation into the profession, setting the identity of architects and, as such, would suggest that any gendered aspects of these dimensions would strongly affect this cohort. This section considers the early-career experiences of all the interviewees in order to examine how changes over time in this pre-profession stage help explain some of the data revealed in Chapter 2.

¹ This photograph was taken as part of the visual research component of the larger “Equity and Diversity” project. Persons featured in this photograph worked for one of the partner firms in 2012, but their appearance here should not be taken as an indication that they were interviewed for this dissertation—the two components of the research were quite separate.

² Dana Cuff, *Architecture: The Story of Practice* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), 130.

Knowledge of architecture begins before commencing university-level study, and experience of the profession begins before graduation, since many architecture students in Australia are employed in related positions on either a part- or full-time basis. Because of this overlap between work and study, and because the education process is important to becoming an architect,³ this chapter begins with a section on experiences before graduation, investigating why the interviewees chose to pursue architecture, and the effects of architecture school. The following section considers the activities that Cuff identifies as significant during the early-career phase; namely, landing a job, title blocks and bathroom details, and learning the humility of practice.⁴ The chapter tests the currency of these activities for the Australian context, alongside the presence of gendering processes more generally in the structural, cultural, interaction, and identity dimensions of the profession. The final section considers markers of advancement for this cohort (that is, the structural dimension) and their expectations for the future.

Before Graduation

Cuff maintains that there are stereotypes within the wider culture about architects and architecture that are “relatively ill-informed,” but that, nonetheless, are powerful in directing people towards the study of the discipline.⁵ Katherine Sang et al also identify social stereotypes as one of the variables affecting the expectations of people prior to entry into the architecture workforce.⁶ In this wider popular view, architecture is seen as a profession that combines the arts and technology. However, while any individual may have interests or abilities that *could* lead to architecture, whether such study is considered feasible is dependent on individual resources, opportunity, and an inclination to study for five years. Consequently, Garry Stevens argues that those who enter architectural schools are often those with higher levels of cultural capital garnered from privileged social backgrounds.⁷

Why Architecture?

Sang et al list seven reasons typically given for choosing architecture:

having a family member in the construction industry, an interest in drawing, an interest in combining science and art, an interesting degree to do, a practical career, an interest in social issues and the influence of childhood toys.⁸

³ Page 92 of this thesis. See also *ibid.*, 118; Garry Stevens, *The Favored Circle: The Social Foundations of Architectural Distinction* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998), 187.

⁴ Cuff, *Architecture*, 129–30.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 117.

⁶ Katherine Sang, Stephen Ison, Andrew Dainty, and Abigail Powell, “Anticipatory Socialisation Amongst Architects: A Qualitative Examination,” *Education + Training* 51, no. 4 (2009): 310.

⁷ Stevens, *The Favored Circle*, 189.

⁸ Sang et al., “Anticipatory Socialisation,” 314.

The interviewees in this study more or less repeated this constellation. Seven of them, mainly women, proffered an additional one, describing travel to Europe as inspirational. It is possible that this reason is more prevalent in Australia, with its comparatively younger architectural heritage. Such travel for the Australian-born is a sign of a relatively high level of cultural and economic capital. However, one interviewee was born in Europe and described travel to Italy as formative.

The “love of art” was the most common reason given for studying architecture by those in Cohorts One and Two. For senior cohorts, the mix of art and sciences made architecture a “logical choice,” especially for senior women. While this might signal a generational difference, it is also likely that those who have continued in the profession (and in these larger firms) are those for whom the technical dimension of architecture is important. Those who advise high-school students certainly see architecture as a course that will satisfy students who are both artistic and technically minded;⁹ nearly one in five of the interviewees were advised in this manner.

The desire to study “something arty” also had to be balanced with parental aspirations. For some, architecture resolved the tension between an academic course and an artistic one. It was mainly men who reported such pressure:

My parents are very strict, you know. I *had* to get a good education; I *had* to go to uni!
(M02•T5•2)

I wanted to be a set designer. [...] My father was absolutely appalled and said “you’re going to university. I’ve paid for your private schooling; you’re going to go there!” And so I basically had to find a university course that had a creative side to it. (M54•T1•4a)

Architecture is also a profession. This marks it as different from other creative-career study choices, and exerted on the interviewees a strong status appeal. One explained that she wanted to be a professional but could not quite decide what type:

So I remember very vividly standing there [...] and deciding: okay, I will do it alphabetically. I ticked architecture, law, medicine. (F15•T1•4c)

None of the younger women reported being discouraged by others from the pursuit of architecture. However, several of the older interviewees were “warned” that it would be difficult because of male-dominance—one sufficiently so that she initially pursued another career. However, the

⁹ Cuff, *Architecture*, 117.

cultural stereotype of architecture as a male-dominated profession would appear to be considerably less than it once was (as the data in Chapter 2 also attests).

Notably, the decision to study architecture was frequently framed as a “natural” one. Four individuals in Cohort One, three of whom were women, specifically used the phrase “natural progression” when describing their decision-making process. In forming their architectural-origin story critical to their professional identity, these young individuals invoked a firm foundation by using words implying vocation. The choice was obvious: it was “who they are,” what they were “born to do.” Nearly one-third, spread evenly across the cohorts, spoke of choosing before the age of fourteen, and some “knew” from an even younger age. This was generational and gendered: knowing was significantly more frequently cited by women in the younger cohorts. Again, early conviction frames architecture as natural and—like many creative workers’ claims to ‘love the work,’ as described by Stephanie Taylor—is not easily gainsaid.¹⁰ Another woman articulated her decision in terms of a desire to slip on the full identity of an architect:

One of the main reasons why I wanted to get into architecture also was because I liked the sort of people that architects are. (F31•T7•1a)

Notwithstanding this strong narrative of the architectural profession as natural or destined, three women in senior cohorts (but none of the men) spoke of their choice as accidental; two followed what admired friends were doing. Rather than natural, these women expressed their choice as a matter of chance. Ina Wagner and Ruth Wodak claim that women’s attribution of achievement to luck or coincidence is passive and, therefore, more traditionally ‘feminine’ as it downplays both effort and the expression of ambition.¹¹ Notably, these women were older and may possibly have felt just such pressure. Only one younger interviewee mentioned accident, but in a way that naturalised her choice:

It was actually a completely accidental decision. [...] I was just sort of flicking through the brochure and I just sort of flicked past architecture. And I was like “Oh, why haven’t I thought of that? Of course!” (F17•T8•1a)

Magali Larson calls this kind of luck or chance “the charismatic logic of genius,”¹² and it can thus be read as a further embedding of this interviewee’s identity as an architect.

¹⁰ Stephanie Taylor, “The Meanings and Problems of Contemporary Creative Work,” *Vocations and Learning* 5, no. 1 (2012): 52.

¹¹ Ina Wagner and Ruth Wodak, “Performing Success: Identifying Strategies of Self-Presentation in Women’s Biographical Narratives,” *Discourse & Society* 17, no. 3 (2006): 404.

¹² Magali Sarfatti Larson, *Behind the Postmodern Facade: Architectural Change in Late Twentieth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 104. Also Chris Argyris cited in Linda N. Groat and Sherry Ahrentzen, “Reconceptualizing

Apart from those noted, the range of stated motivations for choosing architecture did not vary particularly between the women and the men interviewed. The desire for a creative career involving art motivated many, but it was described as a *modified* creativity or “creative *plus*...” (such as plus the academic, plus the technical, plus the practical, or plus the professional) and, for a few, architecture was *minus* the risk associated with a career in art. The main differences were generational, and indicate a degree of change in the wider societal views of a career in architecture. However, the women interviewed had a tendency to articulate reasons that were more identity-affirming, which perhaps indicates some lingering questions in their own minds, or in society more broadly, about the suitability of the study of architecture for women. That study is the subject of the next section.

Study—“That’s Not the Way Things Run Here”

Mats Alvesson and Hugh Willmott maintain that education is a powerful contributor to identity construction.¹³ Stevens argues that the effect is so strong in architecture that it is both excluding and coercive.¹⁴ In Cuff’s description, architectural education “involves the intense indoctrination of an initiation rite: a high degree of commitment, a certain amount of isolation from non-group members, cohesion within the group, sacrifices, and rituals marking passage at various stages.”¹⁵ In architecture, the prime pedagogical structure is the studio, where design is taught via projects,¹⁶ and is the highly valued core and focus of all programmes of architecture.¹⁷ Studio absorbs most of the student’s time, and frequently results in ‘all-nighters’ prior to a project deadline.¹⁸ The culmination is the ‘crit,’ where the student verbally presents and defends their design to staff and guests, who publicly critique it.¹⁹

Most interviewees said they enjoyed the course of study. The experience was spoken of as challenging and inspiring: “It was gruelling, but it was a fantastic course. It had a huge amount of variety in it.” (F32•T1•4a) The pedagogy strongly established a specific culture and identity for architecture students and was much commented on by the interviewees, which confirms Cuff’s

Architectural Education for a More Diverse Future: Perceptions and Visions of Architectural Students,” *Journal of Architectural Education* 49, no. 3 (1996): 166–67.

¹³ Mats Alvesson and Hugh Willmott, “Identity Regulation as Organizational Control: Producing the Appropriate Individual,” *Journal of Management Studies* 39, no. 5 (2002): 630.

¹⁴ Garry Stevens, “Struggle in the Studio: A Bourdivin Look at Architectural Pedagogy,” *Journal of Architectural Education* 49, no. 2 (1995); Stevens, *The Favored Circle*, Chapter 5.

¹⁵ Cuff, *Architecture*, 118.

¹⁶ The use of the word ‘studio’ reveals architecture’s foundation in art.

¹⁷ Dana Cuff, “Introduction: Architecture’s Double-Bind,” in *The SAGE Handbook of Architectural Theory*, ed. C. Greig Crysler, Stephen Cairns, and Hilde Heynen (London: SAGE Publications, 2012), 386; Stevens, *The Favored Circle*, 204; Kathryn H. Anthony, *Design Juries on Trial: The Renaissance of the Design Studio* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1991), 12.

¹⁸ Called ‘charrettes’ in the US; Cuff, *Architecture*, 126.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 118.

description. In particular, the architectural design studio was noted as setting a pattern for working longer hours than for other courses:

It's a lot of work, a lot of face-to-face hours compared to what your friends are doing in different degrees. (F28•T6•1b)

The university is only the basis of preparation... getting you not sleeping that well. [laughs] Get used to the harsh environment, I guess... acclimatised. (M04•T3•3)

If you get home at twelve on a normal day—that's early. (F17•T8•1a)

Among the interviewees, there was an element of what Celia Davies describes as the “heroic individual effort” of attaining professional knowledge, which as she argues, frames a profession as ‘masculine.’²⁰ The toughness of the course implies toughness in those who complete it.

In addition, high time demands were the result of absorbing an idea critical to architecture—that the design process is indeterminate:

You never say stop to design, especially in uni, you *always* work till the last day to make the best of it. (F58•T6•2)

I think I got too cocky with studying. I thought I was just doing it and I'm like, “Yep, I'm done.” But there's *never* a task where you do it and it's done. [...] In first year, end of first semester, that's when I realised that's not the way things run here. In second semester, I upped the ante and made sure I continually developed [my projects] and I found I increased my marks. (M49•T8•1a)

In this last quote, the interviewee clearly describes his adaptation to the culture of architecture, to learning the cultural value of commitment because design has no end. At this stage, this time-demanding, single-focused aspect of the cultural dimension of architecture has less of a gender impact, since both the women and men interviewed accepted and succeeded in it. It is, however, key to the gendered substructure and will reappear in later chapters.

Students also learn the importance of the visual display of the design sensibility that Cuff and Alexander Styhre describe as pivotal to the architectural profession.²¹ This sensibility includes more than learning particular visual-communication skills and the aesthetics of architecture—particularly, personal appearance:

²⁰ Celia Davies, “The Sociology of Professions and the Profession of Gender,” *Sociology* 30, no. 4 (1996): 670.

²¹ Page 93 of this thesis. Also Cuff, *Architecture*, 133; Alexander Styhre, “The Architect's Gaze: The Maintenance of Collective Professional Vision in the Work of the Architect,” *Culture and Organization* 17, no. 4 (2011): 257.

My little brother said [that] on campus, he can always tell who's an architect. (F28•T6•1b)

It's interesting watching how people change from first-year university, where people are still wearing tee-shirts and shorts and things. And then you're finishing third year, everyone's got a very particular look that they've created for themselves. Not because they're trying to be pretentious [...] it's just the fact that they genuinely have acquired a taste for every different element of aesthetic presentation. (F17•T8•1a)

A concern for presentation of the self is one strand of impression management as described by Val Singh and colleagues.²² Moreover, this “genuine acquisition of taste” describes the growth of the embodied cultural capital that Stevens details, of learning that an architect presents her/himself along with the work.²³ Joanne Entwistle maintains that any context will set constraints on what to wear, but looser codes are “set over the bodies of ‘professionals,’ who, rather than being told what to wear, are expected to have internalised the codes of the profession.”²⁴ That internalisation begins at architecture school. It is also modelled by teaching staff: one woman noted a colleague dressing ‘architect-y’ only when teaching, wearing “black, and preferably something that wasn’t common off-the-shelf gear.” (F59•T4•3) Visuality has other consequences for the body, affecting how architects behave and their movement. In this way, architecture can pervade every aspect of a student’s life:

You can tell [architects] by their body language and the way they look at buildings. [...] He was looking at bits of the building that normal people just wouldn’t look at. (M08•T6•1b)

I can’t help but notice everything about buildings. I walk down street and I look up. (F35•T6•1b)

Generally, if you’re looking at them [architects] as opposed to engineers, there is a look. There’s a dress, there’s mannerisms, the way they talk, the way they move. (M14•T3•3)

There have been some changes to the architectural pedagogy since Cuff’s observations, as a number of interviewees attended architecture schools where studio projects were designed in groups. This represents a significant shift from last century, as it promotes architecture as collaborative and confronts the ideology of the individual genius-architect that Hilde Heynen identifies as excluding women.²⁵ However, the outcomes of that shift may not be visible for some time.

²² Page 94 of this thesis.

²³ Stevens, *The Favored Circle*, 197.

²⁴ Joanne Entwistle, “Fashion and the Fleshy Body: Dress as Embodied Practice,” *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture* 4, no. 3 (2000): 330.

²⁵ Hilde Heynen, “Genius, Gender and Architecture: The Star System as Exemplified in the Pritzker Prize,” *Architectural Theory Review* 17, no. 2–3 (2012).

In general, Cohort One interviewees did not report overt gender discrimination during their education, although the school environment was described as highly competitive. One woman described studio as “so competitive! You know, everyone’s working on the same project on the same site... who’s done it better?” (F06•T7•1a). However, studio also cultivated a very close group of supportive friends and so the competition was balanced this by communality and camaraderie. As Cuff describes it, those who struggle together bond closely.²⁶ Nonetheless, one man thought competition might be “a turnoff” for women (M49•T8•1a). The increasingly equal attrition rate shown in Figure 2-3 does not support that view, although high competition has been traditionally seen as integral to the agentic orientation; that is, ‘masculine.’²⁷ This will be discussed more in Chapter 9.

The lack of comments from younger women reporting overt gender discrimination in the schools supports the statistical conclusion from Chapter 2 that discouragement for women is currently less prevalent. In contrast, some, although not all, Cohort Four female interviewees reported clear discouragement for women in the last century:

In my second year at university, my lecturer said to me in my interview, “I think that you’re here to find a husband and I don’t think that you’re serious about doing architecture!” (F03•T4•4a)

They were very mean to a lot of women in my course. [...] It was *very* aggressive. (F64•T2•4a)

Architecture schools promote competition as well as a wholehearted and whole-bodied immersion into architecture, particularly signalled by long hours and attention to the visual at all levels. In general, this ‘full-on’ aspect was embraced by the interviewees, women and men alike; it was carried into the profession.

Into the Profession

The enculturation or socialisation of an architect continues in any office.²⁸ First, a graduate must find a job, then negotiate the gap between school and the profession, and, finally, come to terms with the work. These all involve navigating the cultural, structural, interaction, and identity dimensions of the profession, and this section considers these processes for those who were in Cohort One at the time of interviewing.

²⁶ Cuff, *Architecture*, 128.

²⁷ Alice H. Eagly and Linda L. Carli, *Through the Labyrinth: The Truth About How Women Become Leaders* (Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press, 2007), 86.

²⁸ Cuff, *Architecture*, 45.

Finding a Job: Cohort One

All graduates have a portfolio collation of their work that visually displays their skills, experience, and design sensibility. Cuff maintains that this portfolio symbolically demonstrates how well someone has absorbed—and is able to reproduce—the aesthetic concerns and norms of the profession. It enables employers to predict how the graduate might perform in the office.²⁹

You do judge a CV [and portfolio] partly by its graphic set-out and fonts and everything [...] If someone's selling themselves as a strong creative designer and they have a poor selection of project images, you think... well, you know. (F25•T2•3)

Over half of the Cohort One interviewees obtained their position through sending an unsolicited digital portfolio. All the firms received a steady number of these, which were checked for skills and a design sensibility that matched the ambitions of the firm. As with other occupations, gaining a position required an interview. Stevens argues that interviewing is the most effective way to assess the individual's embodiment of the values and identity of the profession (as well as their class),³⁰ and this was borne out by the interviewees:

We kind of joke about it as something that you shouldn't do... judge someone by their shoes. But there is also some truth in that. If someone is wearing all the wrong jewellery, all the wrong look, then they're not going to have the same or right sensibility. (F25•T2•3)

The interview is an opportunity to assess whether someone will fit into the culture of the office. One senior person spoke of looking for the firm's "DNA," another added '-er' to the end of the name of the firm. Both phrases were explained in "you know it when you see it" terms, but both also describe natural inhabitants. Although most managers claimed that decisions were made solely on the basis of skills and merit, the indeterminate perception of 'fit' means selection was unlikely to be entirely meritocratic, and biases around gender, class, and race were possible.³¹ For instance, one more senior woman spoke of her gender as having eliminated her from one position but helped in another:

I remember turning up to one place and them just coming out and staring into the waiting room. And then the Principal coming out and saying, "Sorry, we thought you were male. You wouldn't fit in here." Didn't even get past the door! [...] So I applied for [a government position] and got that job, [...] because back then, they had to employ so many females. (F18•T2•4c)

²⁹ Ibid., 133.

³⁰ Stevens, "Struggle in the Studio," 114.

³¹ Page 87 of this thesis.

Modifying the skills and talent on display in a portfolio are two factors that affect the ability to find employment: the state of the economy, which determines the number of job opportunities; and/or the candidate's social network. The other half of the cohort's interviewees obtained their position through personal contacts and social networks. Half of these had friends or former colleagues already working within the firm. All three firms favoured this method of recruitment, because it was cheap and effective ("never had anyone good from ads!" [M032•T1•3]). No one spoke of family connections providing them with an entrée to a firm, although one was almost not employed because of such a connection to another firm.

The main network acknowledged by interviewees was university contacts.³² At one office, over half of all their Australian-educated staff graduated from the one university, and at least six interviewees from other cohorts obtained their first job through their tutors at university. One Cohort One interviewee was talent-spotted when someone from the firm was judging her final project (F35•T6•1b). This 'scoping' of graduating students has long been used by some firms:

[The Tier 1 owner] was quite good at going to all of the [graduation] exhibitions and, as we used to joke, 'shopping.' And I got offered a job [that way]. (M11•T1•4a)

There was no gender difference in how this small group of Cohort One interviewees gained their positions. It is possible that, because of the current roughly equal numbers of women and men at university and the importance of this network for gaining initial employment, there was less gender bias in the early-career networks. However, these firms had higher proportions of senior women than typical in the profession, which suggests that their overall hiring might be less prone to gender bias. At least two interviewees had come from sizeable Australian firms with significantly less women than the study firms. This suggests that personal contacts as a common informal structural practice in recruitment for those in early career may be introducing bias in selection processes.

Between School and the Profession

A key focus in architecture schools is design, but the projects taught in studio are often free of the strong external forces and demands of 'real' practice, as described in Chapter 3: "You're just sort of in this fairy world of designing amazing things" (F29•T6•1b). All interviewees commented on the large difference between study and work. Although this kind of gap is not unusual for professions,³³ Stevens describes it as more extreme for architecture, constituting a "rupture." Moreover, he argues

³² Larson describes professional networks as being largely formed in the schools; Larson, *Behind the Postmodern Facade*, 11.

³³ Everett Hughes cited in Cuff, *Architecture*, 45.

that this rupture is deeply structural, given it has been consistent for at least sixty years.³⁴ Individual experience of this disjunction varied among the interviewees:

There was just so much theory attached to what you were doing. And then you'd come out into practice and the reality is that it's so bloody hard to get a building built that if you tried to introduce this layer of theory... Well, certainly in the sort of practices I've worked in, the client would laugh at you! (M22•T2•3)

While all commented on the size of the gap, few spoke of it as problematic. Most considered it necessary:

It's the one chance that you get to focus on design. [...] It's the biggest skill that you bring to the table as an architect. (M67•T3•3)

It is to be expected that those who found the gap problematic would not have continued in the profession. The data in Chapter 2 indicated women tended to leave the profession early. To explain the gender difference in the intention to persist in a career in engineering after education, Erin Cech et al propose the concept of “professional role confidence.”³⁵ To be confident in one's ability to fulfil the expected roles of a successful member of a profession is not just a matter of intellectual and practical skills, but also “the cultivation of confidence in, identification with, and commitment to the profession.”³⁶ This second aspect of confidence, Cech et al argue, is impacted by the day-to-day treatment by others, particularly in initial work placements, with negative experiences causing a faltering in confidence.³⁷ Interviewees reported peers not continuing in architecture, often using the phrase “it was not for them,” or similar, indicating inability to identify with or commit to the profession as they experienced it:

A lot of my friends have [changed course] [...] because they've worked for like a month and they felt like the firm sort of culture and I guess the work that they *actually* get to do—which is CAD and stuff—didn't suit them. (F06•T7•1a)

I can think of two female friends who, on completion of studying architecture, didn't venture into the profession because, for one reason or another, it wasn't what they thought it would be. (F39•T3•3)

³⁴ Stevens, *The Favored Circle*, 217. See also Judith R. Blau, *Architects and Firms: A Sociological Perspective on Architectural Practice* (Cambridge, MA; London: MIT Press, 1984), 54.

³⁵ Erin Cech, Brian Rubineau, Susan Silbey, and Caroll Seron, “Professional Role Confidence and Gendered Persistence in Engineering,” *American Sociological Review* 76, no. 5 (2011): 642.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Identified also by Herminia Ibarra, “Provisional Selves: Experimenting with Image and Identity in Professional Adaptation,” *Administrative Science Quarterly* 44, no. 4 (1999).

I have some friends who chose not to continue with architecture after working for a year because they actually realised that the job was very different to the studies and that it wasn't for them. For me, it re-enforced that I *did* want to do architecture, because while I was studying, I actually wasn't sure. (F44•T5•2)

This last woman was not alone. Many others interviewed found practice more rewarding than study, although it would be expected that those who enjoyed practice more would be those who stayed in the profession.

My particular course was a little bit too theoretical and not practical enough. [...] I feel like I learned so much when working. (F24•T5•1b)

I always saw it [architecture] as a marriage of the practical and the creative. And it was all the creative side [at university ...] And it opened me up to a whole lot of things... expressing myself. But it was almost a relief when I went into the work side of things after graduation. (F09•T3•4c)

The opening up to “a whole lot of things” observed by this interviewee is part of an often-stated belief that the gap between education and the profession is unproblematic because there are many opportunities for graduates beyond conventional architectural practice:

Architecture teaches you to think in a holistic sort of wide way. (F23•T2•4b)

It's the last liberal arts degree that combines both sides of the brain. It's a generalist education. (F45•T4•4a)

I don't think there's anything wrong with people doing an architecture degree [...] and not staying in architecture. There's nothing wrong with that because it's actually a good overall degree. Just [me] having gone off and worked in [an unrelated field]... I mean, really, any architect could do that! (F34•T1•4b)

The idea that the architecture degree has a wide application is part of the cultural dimension of the profession that helps justify and maintain the gap between the idealism of study and the reality of practice. Notably, women interviewees more frequently voiced this understanding,³⁸ and the statistics suggest that more women follow alternative pathways upon graduation (Table 2-6).³⁹ Given the general and widespread acceptance of this view has the effect of minimising the identity-stress of shifting away from the profession, it is a cultural belief that may be helping to nudge women away from a career in architecture, introducing a subtle gender distinction.

³⁸ It was also my view and eased my move into teaching.

³⁹ Annmarie Adams and Peta Tancred, *Designing Women: Gender and the Architectural Profession* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 11, and Chapter 4.

Working and Gaining Experience

There is more to the practice of architecture than the emphasis on design at university, which means that there is still a lot for architecture graduates to learn. Junior staff want opportunities to do so, and these may occur in simple ways, such as described by one interviewee: “I learn a lot by listening to other people talk about design.” (F31•T7•1a)

I do realise how much I learnt in those first few years of practice. Gosh, what a steep learning curve that was! (F68•T3•4a)

It’s hard as a young architect and just coming out of uni to know not just what architecture is, but what the industry is. (F24•T5•1b)

Because of the gap between study and practice, first experiences of a workplace are critical to the learning process. While fresh graduates aspire to be involved in the glamour associated with design work, junior staff are, in reality, most useful in architectural offices as a source of cheap labour for repetitive and piecemeal work that is necessary, but rarely like the work undertaken at university.

[In] my first job [my attitude was] I want to design; I don’t want to do a door schedule! (F55•T3•3)

I’d been offered a position, but I didn’t like their work. You know what you’re like—you’re so arrogant and idealistic as a graduate. (F32•T1•4a)

Writing in 1991, Cuff summarised the mundane tasks often assigned to junior staff as “title blocks and bathroom details.”⁴⁰ In Australia, ‘toilet details’ is the common phrase,⁴¹ and title blocks are now computerised. In 2000, Cuff observed that the adoption of computers had disturbed a customary understanding that fresh graduates would need extensive training before they could actually contribute to the office.⁴² Universities teach students the very latest computer-aided design (CAD) and graphics software, or students train themselves in order to produce compelling images for their portfolios. This expertise is very valuable to firms, upsetting a longstanding hierarchy, as Cuff notes. However, such work could also be tedious:

The boss would put something on the table. And then it’s, like, “Oh, yeah, I need this by the end of today and can you just CAD it up.” [...] So you just hit the deadline, and that’s it. (M53•T6•2)

⁴⁰ Cuff, *Architecture*, 133.

⁴¹ Reflecting different word use between the two countries.

⁴² Dana Cuff, “Epilogue,” in *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession*, ed. Spiro Kostof (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000), 347.

Despite such trials, the Cohort One interviewees seemed to have a long-term view. They were, in Cuff's words, learning the humility of practice. Andrew Brown et al observe that young architects are knowingly compliant and subservient as they understand this as the route to absorbing what it means to become what they aspire to.⁴³ This was also evident among the interviewees:

When you first come out [...] all the work you get to do is like CAD, and take orders from other people. I think it's inevitable; it's something that has to be. Everyone has to go through this. It's like a rite-of-passage sort of thing. (F06•T7•1a)

I know that this is a stage that everybody has to go through. (F31•T7•1a)

Learning the range of skills to become an architect is dependent on the opportunities and responsibilities an individual is given. Among the interviewees, there did not appear to be any initial bias in the assignment of work, but the longer people were in a firm, the clearer it became to them that there were patterns in how opportunities were given or withheld. Cuff observes that firms want junior staff who learn fast, are accurate, and are competent at their work.⁴⁴ That has not changed; for instance, one interviewee wanted more challenging work, but was described by management as "not fast at picking things up," and so was not assigned such work ultimately constraining development. Cuff also argues that in firms, very often, pragmatic economic considerations override any commitment to staff development.⁴⁵ As one interviewee bluntly speculated:

Maybe a lot of big architecture firms aren't wanting to develop staff. They're only wanting to develop a few really, and a lot of other people they just want to get the work done—now! (F57•T6•1b)

Once someone has a particular skill, it can be more economically efficient to keep them in that role, where they risk becoming a "cog" in a machine, as one interviewee put it:

Other firms, at least in my experience, have tended to make people just a cog [...] You're not encouraged to do something beyond what they feel that you're good at. (M05•T2•4a)

You do something good once, you're on that shelf. That's it! (F62•T3•4b)

I had this kind of skill base [...] and I was pigeon-holed. Once you're pigeon-holed, it's hard to get out of that. (M38•T5•1b)

⁴³ Andrew D. Brown, Martin Kornberger, Stewart R. Clegg, and Chris Carter, "'Invisible Walls' and 'Silent Hierarchies': A Case Study of Power Relations in an Architecture Firm," *Human Relations* 63, no. 4 (2010): 543.

⁴⁴ Cuff, *Architecture*, 133.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 134.

Different architecture firms were clearly described as having widely varying levels of commitment to developing their staff and distributing opportunities, preventing the “cogging”:

It was a very egalitarian office, you know. As a young graduate, you could be doing the toilet details one day and the next day you would be in charge of actually running a competition. (F15•T1•4c)

[This office] paid for the training courses [for registration], which is good. I wouldn't have got that over where I was before. (M38•T5•1b)

In one of the studied offices, the practice managers kept a close eye on the distribution of opportunities:

[They] go, “ah, they're a graduate [now], I think they need to learn a bit of construction. I think we should put them on a project for a couple of months and stop throwing them into a competition every two weeks.” (M54•T1•4a)

Another way that opportunities to learn could be stymied, affecting career development, was by being limited to a particular project type. With large-scale projects, each sector requires a high degree of specialised knowledge:

You just start somewhere [...] and it's all amazing, and I just want to do as well as I can on *any* project that I'm given [...] And it wasn't until sort of two years after, I realised that: actually, hey, I'm becoming a [specialist] architect. (F24•T5•1b)

Cuff notes that to avoid this situation, people would leave a given workplace.⁴⁶ One interviewee did just that: “It felt to me like I was going to end up in the path of specialising in that, unless I left.” (F61•T4•2) Similarly, a number of interviewees spoke of staying at the firm only “for as long as it is interesting” (F35•T6•1b), or “as long as I can keep moving forward” (F57•T6•1b).

Between 2012 and 2014, 39% of the Cohort One graduate staff across the three firms left (Table 5-1), the highest percentage of any cohort (Figure 4-4). A gender difference was observed, with more of the men leaving. Although this is too small a sample and over too short a period to draw any firm conclusions, it is an intriguing pattern and will be discussed more in the next chapter, where the pattern is repeated.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

Table 5-1: Staff Movement Cohort One, 2012–2014

Cohort One (graduates only)	2012				2014			
	Women	Men	Total	% women	Women	Men	Total	% women
Total Numbers 2012	24	32	56	43%				
Left by 2014					8	14	22	36%
% left					33%	44%	39%	

Source: Data derived from information supplied by partner architecture firms and their websites.

The converse to staff leaving if they feel their skills are stagnating is that those who feel they are learning will tolerate difficult working conditions:

I learnt a lot, but we worked very hard. [...] But I couldn't do it forever. It's just deadline after deadline and keeping up those hours, you know, I couldn't do it anymore (F28•T6•1b)

The pattern of long hours began at architecture school and, in order to gain experience, was repeated by the interviewees in the workforce. Generally, these hours were considered to be the industry norm, but this was also experienced as highly variable among firms:

[My first job] I was told if I didn't stay 'til seven thirty/eight o'clock I wasn't serious about being an architect. I was working twelve-hour days and I wasn't serious—apparently. (F33•T4•3)

Six o'clock, everyone was gone. [...] The rule was: no one does any overtime. [...] And they still managed to make a profit. (F10•T4•3)

Learning also comes through working closely with senior people on a project. In rare cases, this involved more formal mentorship. In Cohort One, one (male) interviewee spoke of having received mentorship in terms of non-project-specific guidance and attention:

You really need a mentor when you come into an office out of university. I was very lucky to have that. (M43•T6•1b)

In this quote, the interviewee acknowledged the need for, but rarity of, formal mentoring. Some interviewees had worked in offices where they said that the provision of mentoring followed a distinctly gendered pattern:

I think a lot of men find mentoring women awkward. [...] If I think of [...] X's trajectory, I think he was taken under the wing and up he went. (F64•T2•4a)

You could certainly identify who was being groomed—and, yes, they were all male. (F33•T4•3)

We joked about it, how [the Tier 1 had] constantly got his young man who he saw as his new protégé, his new ‘himself at the same age.’ (F23•T2•4b)

The homosocial nature of such mentorship was clear, and problematic for young women because of the lack of senior women. Women comprised 14% of Tiers 1 and 2 across the firms (and this was a high proportion profession-wide), but half were in practice management positions, further reducing the chances for younger women to work with senior women on projects:

I can tell you now that most projects I’ve worked on, there haven’t been *any* older women architects. (F29•T6•1b)

In the workplace, it’s pretty obvious that in terms of positions and rankings [...] everywhere I’ve been: it’s just male [Tier 1 owners] everywhere you go. (M47•T7•1a)

Nonetheless, senior men did work with all junior staff, and this senior-to-junior relationship could take different forms. One woman observed of one senior man that the work of junior women seemed to give him the greater career boost:

He worked with a lot of women, but he also managed to propel himself through working with a lot of women... He’d acknowledge [them] but he’d make sure that he was acknowledged first, you know? And that often happens with those who work with the women—they find it *useful*. (F23•T2•4b)

Junior women’s work supporting the earnings and privileges of senior men has been observed in other professions,⁴⁷ and Bridget Fowler and Fiona Wilson note its presence in the architecture profession in the UK.⁴⁸ In the present study, it was described as occurring in Australia. Other recent graduates were neither mentored nor supported but ‘thrown in the deep end’:

I’ve been dumped in the deep end loads of times and that’s when I’ve learnt the fastest. While sometimes you could work under someone who is a bit too—what’s the word?—motherly. It tends to slow you down a little bit because you want to do more but it’s all about *them* determining what’s appropriate for you. (F10•T4•3)

For this interviewee, deep-end abandonment was preferable to a more structured mentoring. The use of the word ‘motherly’ for the less-valued experience is an example of what Joan Acker describes as the construction of meaning patterned in terms of a hierarchical distinction between

⁴⁷ Sharon Bolton and Daniel Muzio, “The Paradoxical Processes of Feminization in the Professions: The Case of Established, Aspiring and Semi-Professions,” *Work, Employment & Society* 22, no. 2 (2008): 286. Also page 68 of this thesis.

⁴⁸ Bridget Fowler and Fiona Wilson, “Women Architects and Their Discontents,” *Sociology* 38, no. 1 (2004): 117.

masculine and feminine, and is a manifestation of the gendered substructure.⁴⁹ Another interviewee also spoke of the high-learning potential of being in the deep end, but was more qualified:

I was pretty much given [that] project and left to run it myself. [...] Deep end! And I did sink and swim and drowned and swim properly... all of the above throughout the project. [...] And I mean, I'm really grateful for that steep learning curve, but it would have been nice to have *some* mentoring. (F65•T6•1b)

There are risks associated with the deep end, and some firms were more cautious about exposing their young staff to it. However, in general, junior staff sought such opportunities, and some realised that they needed to be assertive to get what they needed for their skills development:

I have noticed that you've got to be careful. If you're really good at something, you can get stuck doing it [...] I mean you want to do that, and you want to leverage off it. But you also need to make it *really* clear that you don't want to spend the next ten years writing specs. (M63•T3•1b)

One senior woman advised a Cohort One woman to "ask more." For most of the interviewees in this cohort, the realisation that stalling and pigeon-holing could be a problem for their career development, and that they consequently needed to be proactive, did not come immediately:

You have to have a degree of self-awareness and self-confidence or you could *really* get left in a corner and not get what you need and want. So I think you do have to be quite assertive [...] I'm only just kind of maturing and learning that now. It doesn't just happen by itself. (F57•T6•1b)

The apparent need for assertiveness somewhat contradicts the notion of merit. It is also arguably a means by which the profession becomes gendered, because behaviour is differently interpreted depending on the gender of the performer, as discussed in Chapter 3.⁵⁰ This is particularly so of assertive behaviour. Women are also often less inclined to utilise the assertive tactics required of career-boosting impression management.⁵¹

In the life of any architectural project there are different phases: the 'front-end' is more design-oriented and the 'back-end' is more technical. The former most resembles work completed at university. The latter requires a substantial body of technical and procedural knowledge to prepare the documentation of a project for construction on the building site and on-site supervision. This back-end phase poses some particular issues for women, who are often seen as 'young and female'

⁴⁹ Joan Acker, "Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations," *Gender & Society* 4, no. 2 (1990): 146.

⁵⁰ Page 77 of this thesis.

⁵¹ Page 94 of this thesis.

in these circumstances. One woman described gaining the respect of “six-foot contractors” when she was “young-looking and quite short” as “a hard grind.” (F303•T5•2):

Just because I seem young and [am] female doesn’t mean that I can’t talk to all of you!
(F28•T6•1b)

It’s very hard as a young woman to try and argue about things like that [bad workmanship] with tradesmen and the builder and all that sort of stuff around you. And it was quite confronting.
(F34•T1•4b)

I don’t think that the project manager was discriminatory against me because I was female. I think it had more to do with the combination of being maybe young and female and him not thinking that I should be in the position that I was in. (F65•T6•1b)

Christine Williams et al’s investigation into geoscientists argues that youth becomes part of identity and functions differently depending on gender (and race).⁵² They maintain that the main consequence of being ‘young and female’ is the questioning of technological expertise, and this has been recorded in a number of international studies in architecture.⁵³ Deneen Hatmaker regards it as simply the default position for men in their interactions with young women.⁵⁴ While many female interviewees spoke of the difficulties of being young and female, particularly on the construction site, the men did not mention youth, but, rather, spoke of confidence, which, while connected to age, was not articulated in this way:

My first year I was working, I probably didn’t really have enough experience to be running things on-site. I found that hard because it’s quite clear if you don’t know. Unless you’re confident, you can’t really bluff your way through it on-site. (M30•T4•2)

Likewise, Sang et al cite a male architect who argued that confidence was key on site.⁵⁵ Cech et al argue that professional role identity includes expertise confidence,⁵⁶ and this seemed easier for the male interviewees to attain (or bluff) than for the women, because their expertise was questioned.

⁵² Christine L. Williams, Chandra Muller, and Kristine Kilanski, “Gendered Organizations in the New Economy,” *Gender & Society* 26, no. 4 (2012): 558. Also noted for law see Margaret Thornton, *Dissonance and Distrust: Women in the Legal Profession* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1996), 138.

⁵³ Katherine Sang, Andrew Dainty, and Stephen Ison, “Gender in the UK Architectural Profession: (Re)Producing and Challenging Hegemonic Masculinity,” *Work, Employment & Society* 28, no. 2 (2014): 10; Valerie Caven, Elena Navarro-Astor, and Marie Diop, “A Cross-National Study of Accommodating and ‘Usurpatory’ Practices by Women Architects in the UK, Spain and France,” *Architectural Theory Review* 17, no. 2–3 (2012): 370, 372.

⁵⁴ Deneen M. Hatmaker, “Engineering Identity: Gender and Professional Identity Negotiation among Women Engineers,” *Gender, Work & Organization* 20, no. 4 (2013): 388.

⁵⁵ Sang, Dainty, and Ison, “Gender in the UK Architectural Profession,” 9.

⁵⁶ Cech et al., “Professional Role Confidence,” 642.

Ambition and the Future

While the previous section discussed the interviewees' early experiences of the profession, this section considers indications that those in the cohort were advancing, and how the interviewees saw their place in architecture into the future. The traditional markers that might signal the end of the early-career phase are the attainment of formal milestones. However, there were also discernible shifts in the articulation of concerns and aspirations of the interviewees.

Milestones of Early Career

The formal signals of increased responsibility and autonomy in architecture include registration, assignment as project leader, and promotion to Associate (Tier 3). The process of registration highlights the legal obligations architects have, and the problems that can arise (this will be discussed more in the next chapter). Within two years of the initial data-gathering, an additional seven people in Cohort One in the firms had formally registered, five of whom were women (Table 5-2).

Table 5-2: Registration Achievement Cohort One, 2012–2014

Cohort One (graduates only 2007–2011)	2012				2014			
	Women	Men	Total	% women	Women	Men	Total	% women
Australian registered	2	3	5	40%	7	5	12	58%
Internationally registered	3	2	5	60%				
Not registered – Aus qualified	13	11	24	32%				
Not registered – Int qualified		3	19	0%				
Not eligible	6	13	3	32%				
% registered	21%	16%	18%		42%	22%	30%	
% Aus registered of Aus qualified	13%	21%	17%		33%	19%	26%	

Sources: Data from information supplied by partner architecture firms and ACCA, “List of Individual Architects in Australia,” *Architects in Australia*, accessed September 2014, <http://australianarchitect.org.au/list-of-individual-architects-in-australia/>.

This meant that, in this cohort overall, the rate of (Australian) registration lifted from just 17% of those eligible to be registered to 26%, with women even higher on 33%. This is counter to the pattern seen in Chapter 2, where women were not registering at a rate equal to their graduation proportion. Although this is a small sample, this result may indicate that the young women in this study who intend to continue in the profession demonstrate this intention through registration. Registration constitutes human capital, which, as discussed in Chapter 1, is critical for women's career development.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Page 15 of this thesis.

However, promotion was not necessarily affected by registration: half of those promoted in this cohort were not registered (women and men equally).⁵⁸ Table 5-3 details the change in formal titles of this cohort (graduates only) between 2012 and 2014.

Table 5-3: Cohort One Formal Titles Achieved, 2012–2014

Cohort One (graduates only 2007–2011)	2012				2014			
	Women	Men	Total	% women	Women	Men	Total	% women
Total Numbers 2012	24	32	56	43%				
Tier 3 – Associate		1			4	3	7	57%
Titled	0	1	1	0%	4	3	7	57%

Source: Data derived from information supplied by partner architecture firms and their websites.

More women than men achieved promotion to Tier 3 (four women and two men), suggesting that, in these firms, the formal processes of promotion to this level were not favouring men. At the time of promotion, the two men (and one woman) had less than five years’ post-graduation experience, but the sample is too small to infer that men might be achieving this level faster than women. Nonetheless, it is of note that the one individual at this level in 2012 was male and Table 4-2 also revealed male outliers. If men are achieving promotion faster than women, it suggests that men are being valued for their potential or are receiving opportunities to prove themselves earlier than women—signs of the gender-based differential valuation of merit discussed in Chapter 3.⁵⁹

The most commonly understood reason articulated by all interviewees for promotion to Tier 3 was as reward for hard work. However, just as assertiveness was required in order to gain opportunities, some considered that promotion requires a sense of strategy:

I guess I’m not really aiming to get promoted, so I’m not thinking along the lines of “oh, I should be...”—that kind of strategising. But I can definitely see you would need to be visible.
(F24•T5•1b)

Those who are competitive progress on faster, and those who [aren’t] tend to stay where they are.
(M49•T8•1a)

“Not aiming for promotion” will be discussed more in the next chapter, as it was particularly prevalent among those in Cohort Two.

⁵⁸ Noted in Cuff, *Architecture*, 143.

⁵⁹ Page 77 of this thesis.

Thoughts of the Future

The possibilities of promotion notwithstanding, the interviewees had varying views of what their future in the profession might hold. Of the Cohort One interviewees, all the students, all but one of the trainees, and half of the graduates said that they aspired to run their own firm, in order to have the role of designer.

Ultimately, that's what people aspire to. I mean, everyone started off with that dream.
(M38•T5•1b)

Although the designer role was coveted, there was a noticeable dropping off in this ambition with increased experience. Reasons for rejecting this path varied from preference for the project scale and type available in larger firms to acknowledging that starting a firm was difficult:

I'm not sure that I really want to go out and start my own company sort of thing, because it seems to be a headache. (F28•T6•1b)

I think [that] to start a practice and to be successful—to practice and grow—comes a lot of big sacrifices. That's something I'm still working at deciding if I want to do. (M47•T7•1a)

This last interviewee was specifically referring to the sacrifice of family. Some form of sacrifice is inherent in descriptions of the ('masculine') hero-genius identity construction of architects discussed in Chapter 3,⁶⁰ and seems to resurface here in association with the responsibilities and difficulties of architectural practice ownership, particularly as they pertain to having a family. The impact of having a family was repeatedly raised when interviewees considered their future. Most of those in Cohort One were in their twenties, and only two interviewees had children. Speculations on a future with a family were in the main just that, but none could envisage reconciling family with architectural practice.

I know the female side of it's all going to be messy. But, like, it's not what I want to think about right now. (F06•T7•1a)

Although it was also noted that women with children might own their own small practice, such a practice was articulated by some as not so desirable:

I also know a lot of women architects, who are mothers, who have decided to leave their practice but to take on private jobs just because it gives them a bit more flexibility. [...] [But] I think they don't have many options; they don't have a choice. (F29•T6•1b)

⁶⁰ Page 82 of this thesis.

This statement reveals the idea that private work is not considered the same as work undertaken in a larger firm, an idea that will appear again in Chapter 8. Other constructions were also made:

Last year, I interviewed at a firm and it was run by just a lady by herself. And I kind of just felt so sorry for her in a way, it kind of looked quite lonely. (F06•T7•1a)

Here, being female is seen to exacerbate the difficulties of sole practice-ownership, wherein small-scale practice is seen as limiting, isolated, and ‘lonely.’ The consistent assumption was that having a family would mean women working on a part-time basis, a cultural assumption that is also prevalent in wider society. However, part-time hours were viewed as difficult in architecture, and this was proffered by all interviewees as the main reason why women might disappear from the profession:

I hope I am still in the profession, but I don’t know that I will be working full time for the rest of my life. I don’t know. But I want a family and I’m not sure that the two necessarily meld very well together. (F28•T6•1b)

It was not just women who were concerned with the potential effect of having a family. A number of men also discussed the impact:

I like doing what I do, but it’s not like I’m passionate about it to the point where I’d die for my art, or slash and burn family! (M38•T5•1b)

[My wife] talks about it a lot, especially recently [...] when we’re coming home at eleven o’clock [...] she says “that’s fine now but, you know, when we have kids...” [...] I have this glimmer of hope that there’s a way to do it without those sacrifices, otherwise the profession wouldn’t survive. (M47•T7•1a)

The high time commitment of being an architect was consistently perceived as being in tension with family. However, for men, the traditional role of being a ‘family provider’ is a way of reconciling that tension. It would be a question for future research whether these men are able realise that “glimmer of hope.”

Others thought there was more than motherhood behind the disappearance of women from the profession. One man half-joked that:

Maybe [women] are just smarter and they know to get the hell out of there before they sacrifice their whole life to [architecture]. (M38•T5•1b)

Some of the women in Cohort One had other intimations of why women might be leaving:

Yes, having children does slow you down, but there's also a bit more to it than that. You know, that gets used as a bit of an excuse to keep [...] women kind of on the periphery of certain directions that are going on in the office, so they're not privy to certain information. (F57•T6•1b)

I sometimes wonder whether it's when you get into that project-leadership level, you look at the wider construction industry and who's involved in the meetings and all the decisions and it's generally always men. There's clients... And I just feel or perceive other men of a similar age and position would be able to deal with them better. (F28•T6•1b)

Both of these interviewees are discussing the dimension of social interaction, and suggesting how gender plays a part in excluding women. The first argues that social networks might exclude women. The second describes homosociality being triggered when the job increasingly involves working with men. Both of these issues will be discussed further in the next chapter.

Conclusion

For the Cohort One interviewees, there were a number of dimensions at this stage of their careers in which the practices and processes of the profession might produce gender inequities. The first was symbolic or cultural, and involved embedding the idea that architecture work is demanding but enjoyable and worthwhile, deserving of wholehearted and whole-bodied time devotion. Members of this cohort considered that this devotion would be most at odds with having children, but did not comprehend how it might be possible to be an architect without it. Being female was not seen as inconsistent with being an architect, but being a mother certainly was. There was also a cultural belief that an architecture degree can lead to a wide range of career paths. This helped to excuse or condone early departure from the profession, and is a belief that appears to permit gender imbalance to occur given that more women exit at this time. The idealism expressed by interviewees in this cohort, balanced by concerns that family might interfere with later career success, are not unusual. Of note, Deborah O'Neil and Diana Bilimoria report these elements dominating at this stage of a career in their study of professional women.⁶¹

The second dimension producing gender inequities was the prevalence of informal structural practices. Recruitment was split between portfolio assessments and personal contacts. The latter potentially allowed personal and unconscious or covert bias to affect selection. The distribution of opportunities is critical in the development of the budding architect, but was highly variable in the

⁶¹ Deborah A. O'Neil and Diana Bilimoria, "Women's Career Development Phases: Idealism, Endurance, and Reinvention," *Career Development International* 10, no. 3 (2005): 182.

firms that the interviewees had worked for throughout their careers. In some workplaces, though not necessarily the three currently under examination, a lack of formal development procedures allowed these decisions to be highly informal and based on indeterminate criteria, which tend to favour men. However, within the studied firms, promotions for this cohort showed women more than holding their own, indicating that when processes were more formal, bias against women diminished.

Everyday social interactions ushered in the third dimension of gendering processes. Few Cohort One interviewees were aware of the dangers of being stalled or blocked by the kind of work and opportunities they received. An individual's social networks, confidence levels, professional role confidence, and assertiveness skills were critical for career development and opportunities—all these are supported or diminished by day-to-day interactions. The assertive and confident, as well as competent, were favoured, and these tended to be men, although this was difficult to accurately assess. Interactions with those outside of the architectural office were affected by the numerical dominance of men in construction, consultant, and client groups. This becomes more significant for the next cohort.

The final dimension was the professional identity of an architect, and the key aspect of this absorbed during these early years was the importance of the display of design sensibility. This manifested in an individual concern to re-present the visual norms of the profession not just in work but also in personal appearance and behaviour—to become embodied as an architect. In particular, it involved enacting the cultural norm of full-time devotion to architecture.

Overall, although the dimensions of the gendered substructure of the profession were visible during this period, they had less of a differential impact on the individual women and men interviewed. To begin to see that impact, especially its effect on career progression, requires investigation into what happens after this early-career phase.

Chapter 6 – Cohort Two: Consolidation and Constriction

When you're first graduated, there's lots to learn and you don't worry about things. But, after a while, you begin to wonder: what's going on here?

F307•T5•3



Illustration 6-1: Photograph Taken by Nick Bassett on Site with One of the Three Partner Firms in 2012.¹

While the gendered substructure was partially visible in the early stages of a career for those interviewees in Cohort One, it had yet to impact them in a significant way. For the interviewees in Cohort Two, however, the effects of gender were experienced more strongly, as they consolidated their understanding of the profession, and, in some cases, also experienced constrictions in their career development.

¹ This photograph was taken as part of the visual research component of the larger “Equity and Diversity” project. Persons featured in this photograph worked for one of the partner firms in 2012, but their appearance here should not be taken as an indication that they were interviewed for this dissertation—the two components of the research were quite separate.

This cohort—who had between six- and ten-years post-graduation experience—roughly aligns what Dana Cuff calls “the middle years,” which she characterises as a period of great ambiguity for architects, because they are very difficult both to navigate and describe.² This period begins when the gathering of experience in the early-entry years is transformed into “displaying competence [and] gathering responsibility and autonomy.”³ Indications of this transformation include formal markers, such as promotion and registration, and informal markers, including the kinds of project an individual has responsibility for and autonomy over.

The most frequently stated ambition for the interviewees in this cohort was for a good role on a good project. The first section of the chapter elaborates on how this ambition impacted individuals’ perceptions of their career. The second section specifically examines how the approach taken to project work, and under what conditions, has differential consequences for women.

In Pursuit of the ‘Good’ Project

The ambition of holding a good role on a good project affected how the interviewees saw their longevity in a firm, and created ambivalence towards promotion and registration. There was often a difference between the interviewed women and men in these areas.

Good Roles on Good Projects

The size of projects in the studied firms generally meant that working on a project required a team, with different roles undertaken within them. Most interviewees in this cohort were interested in increasing their role responsibility, although some women expressed caution for the speed with which this might happen:

I’d just feel a bit stressed out to lead such a big project with only five years of work experience.
(F69•T4•2)

I want to feel ready for that and have all the knowledge that I think I will need to do a proper job for that position. (F16•T5•2)

These interviewees appear to expressing doubt about their professional role confidence.⁴ This caution adheres to the cliché that women feel they need to be 100% certain before they attempt a

² Dana Cuff, *Architecture: The Story of Practice* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), 138–39.

³ Ibid., 139.

⁴ Page 133 of this thesis. Confidence will be discussed more in the next chapter.

job, whereas men are comfortable with 60%.⁵ While there is little empirical evidence supporting this contention,⁶ there is evidence of a gendered confidence gap,⁷ which, to a large degree, is produced by differential assessments of the behaviour of women compared to men, as discussed in Chapter 3.⁸

The way in which a project was run made a difference for those working in the team, and was highly individual to the project leader, some of whom were better organised than others:

I worked quite closely with a [Tier 1 owner] [...] and his most productive hours were after six. So he would just spend the day doing meetings and then at the end of the day sit down and we'd think things through or we'd work stuff out. (F39•T3•3)

Because I'm managing a team at the moment, it also means a lot of meetings, a lot of briefing people [...] At the end of the day there's just things that I need to catch up on [...] And making sure that the team knows what they're doing for the next day. (F07•T3•2)

The resultant long hours were accepted by interviewees, who typically considered this to be an inevitable part of working on a good project:

As soon as I have a project with more responsibility and something that really challenges me, I just work long hours because I really want to do that, and really want to do that well. (F106•T5•2)

Of course, if you're passionate about what you're designing or something... I don't mind working twenty-four hours if I'm designing something really, really special. (M53•T5•2)

There was a general pattern of advancement for those in this cohort, beginning with a good role on a project, graduating to a good role on a good project, and culminating in leading a good project from design through to completion on site. This last role was the one most aspired to, because this level of autonomy signals the ending of the middle years, as Cuff notes.⁹ Some interviewees had experienced this trajectory, and others had held leadership roles for major elements of large projects, particularly for the back-end processes of documentation and on-site contract administration. The latter was highly coveted, described by one interviewee as “that real

⁵ Described, for instance, in Joan Williams and Rachel Dempsey, *What Works for Women at Work: Four Patterns Working Women Need to Know* (New York: New York University Press, 2014), 48.

⁶ An internal study at Hewlett Packard is frequently cited, however, it appears to be more anecdotal than a study; Curt Rice, “Anecdota, or How McKinsey's Story Became Sheryl Sandberg's Fact,” April 22, 2014, <http://curt-rice.com/2014/04/22/what-happens-when-under-qualified-women-apply-for-jobs-and-why-sheryl-sandberg-and-mckinsey-wrongly-think-we-dont-know/>.

⁷ Katty Kay and Claire Shipman, “The Confidence Gap,” *The Atlantic* May 2014, <http://www.theatlantic.com/features/archive/2014/04/the-confidence-gap/359815/>.

⁸ Page 77 of this thesis.

⁹ Cuff, *Architecture*, 146.

architectural experience” (M53•T5•2). A lack of such site experience affected interviewees’ self-perception as an architect:

Drawing on paper is one thing. Seeing it built and seeing what’s reality—that gives you another perspective. It makes you understand what’s really important and what’s not important at all. (F58•T6•2)

There are big pieces that are still missing in my overall knowledge: I haven’t got much site experience, [...] to me that’s not an all-round architect. (F36•T5•2)

Magali Larson argues that seeing buildings completed is essential for architects’ sense of self, or their professional identity.¹⁰ An ‘all-round’ or ‘real’ architect is adept and experienced at all stages of a project, from design to bringing that design to a finished building. The aspiration to being this kind of architect is, according to Cuff, embedded in the ideals of architectural education.¹¹ Both the women and men interviewed aspired to it—but not all had the requisite opportunity, and a lack of such opportunities affected tenure within a firm.

Tenure—“It Depends on the Projects”

Within two years of the initial data-gathering, nearly one-third of Cohort Two had left the employ of their respective offices (Table 6-1). Most of those leaving had been with the firms less than five years. More men than women left, which was also the case in Cohort One (Table 5-1). In addition, a number of the women in this cohort had been made redundant, increasing this gender disparity.

Table 6-1: Staff Movement Cohort Two, 2012–2014

Cohort Two	2012				2014			
	Women	Men	Total	% women	Women	Men	Total	% women
Total Numbers 2012	25	31	56	45%				
			Left by 2014		7	10	17	41%
			% of staff leaving		28%	32%	30%	

Source: Data derived from information supplied by partner architecture firms and their websites.

There was also a gender difference in terms of tenure within the firms. In 2012, over one-third of Cohort Two had been in the employ of the firms for six-to-ten years; another third for two-to-five years; and almost one-third for less-than-two years. Women were a decreasing proportion of these groups: they were more than half of those who had been with the firms the longest period, dropping

¹⁰ Magali Sarfatti Larson, *Behind the Postmodern Facade: Architectural Change in Late Twentieth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 105.

¹¹ Cuff, *Architecture*, 135.

to 35% of those had been there the least time. In other words, the women in Cohort Two in this study seemed more stable in their employment than the men. Possible causes of this difference will be discussed later in the chapter.

The most commonly stated reason for changing firms was work-fit, which included work culture, project types, and how a firm distributed project roles opportunities. The interviewees described moving between workplaces as normal for the profession:¹²

I think people just move around. It's probably the nature of architecture. (F66•T5•2)

Consequently, the fluidity of staff movement recorded in Table 6-1 is to be expected. Although none of the interviewees had worked in all three of the participating firms, a number had worked for two of them. Cuff argues that any firm provides a milieu within which an architect can “forge and express a coherent professional identity;”¹³ but each firm does so differently. Given the importance of ‘being’ to architects, finding the right milieu is critical.¹⁴ Consequently, people “just try different firms; what fits.” (F66•T6•2)

[This firm] is basically my first employer. [...] There are times when I've thought about: do I need to try something else so that I know what's out there? And every time I compare it to: you can't really marry your first boyfriend! (F07•T3•2)

[After about five years,] I just went: what have I got into?! You know, small practice is not for me, big practice is not for me... What do I do? Then I met X, and so I went for an interview. [...] I thought: all right, I'll give this a try. So I did. And look: still here! (F32•T1•4a)

Better roles were considered more possible in firms with higher design reputations. The search for better roles had propelled inter-firm movement among the interviewees:

The culture of [my previous] office [was] more commercialised, I'd say, as compared to a more designed-based one where there's more of a design approach to it—Design with a capital ‘D’. (M53•T6•2)

There was a culture of that design wasn't the be-all and end-all in that firm. (F65•T6•1b)

¹² Noted also by Larson, *Behind the Postmodern Facade*, 116; Cuff, *Architecture*, 134.

¹³ Cuff, *Architecture*, 157.

¹⁴ Page 92 of this thesis. See also Gill Matthewson, “Architecture and the Goldilocks Syndrome,” *Parlour*, June 7, 2013, <http://archiparlour.org/architecture-and-the-goldilocks-syndrome/>.

As with Cohort One, interviewees in Cohort Two spoke of their tenure in a firm as being dependent on the quality of their next project and their role:

I think if I [wasn't getting] these challenges every day or on a regular basis, I probably wouldn't be here, because I would be too bored. (F07•T3•2)

I am really happy right now; this job that I am working on, it's a really interesting job, I have a good role on that project. But it does all depend on what's the next thing for me within the company. So it's project-based. (F61•T4•2)

For me, it depends on the projects. At the moment, I am working on interesting projects. If there was no interesting project to work on, then I will probably become bored quickly. [...] [Then] I would probably consider leaving. (M26•T5•2)

There is a degree to which these comments adhere to a particular cultural script, given that all three of these interviewees had been with their firm for more than five years. This script articulates the cultural importance of being motivated only by projects and their 'challenges.' The script is learned at architecture school and continues into the profession, and is key to the cultural dimension of architecture.

Two other events signal career advancement: registration and promotion. The former is complex, in that it is not always seen as valuable (which will be discussed shortly), while the latter is seen as more directly expressive of value and merit.¹⁵ However, without one or the other, an individual is formally only able to be called an 'architectural graduate.' To have more than five years' post-graduation experience, have roles of responsibility, and still be called 'a graduate' is one of the peculiarities of the profession. At the time of interviewing, over half of Cohort Two was in this category.

Registration

Registration tests applicants on the legal liabilities of the building process, which is one of the reasons that experience of the construction stage of a project is sought after. With registration requiring a minimum of two years' work experience, all Cohort Two members were more than eligible to be registered. Yet over one-third were not registered in any jurisdiction at the time of the interviews, and half of the Australian-educated ones were not (Table 6-2). By 2014, another seven individuals in this cohort had registered, lifting the overall registered proportion to 75%, and that for Australian-registered to 68%. More women than men were newly registered, lifting their already

¹⁵ Cuff, *Architecture*, 143.

higher than men's rate to 85%, compared to just 50% of the men. This gender difference repeats that found in Cohort One,¹⁶ and, again, it would seem that registration for the younger women in these firms was more important than it was for men. Some of the possible reasons for this will be discussed in this section and the next.

Table 6-2: Registration Achievement Cohort Two 2012–2014

Cohort Two	2012				2014			
	Women	Men	Total	% women	Women	Men	Total	% women
Total Numbers	25	31	56	45%	-	-		N/A
Australian registered	12	7	19	63%	17	9	26	67%
Lapsed registered	1	1	2		1	1	2	
Internationally registered	5	11	16	31%	5	11	16	31%
Not registered – Aus qualified	7	10	17	41%	2	8	10	20%
Not registered – Int qualified	0	2	2		0	2	2	
% registered	68%	58%	63%		88%	65%	75%	
% Aus registered of Aus qualified	60%	39%	50%		85%	50%	68%	

Sources: Data from information supplied by partner architecture firms and ACCA, “List of Individual Architects in Australia,” *Architects in Australia*, accessed September 2014, <http://australianarchitect.org.au/list-of-individual-architects-in-australia/>.

As part of the research, all non-registered staff were asked for their reasons for not registering.¹⁷ The answers reveal a series of perceptions and questions, some conflicting, including what does registration measure, how does it measure it, is it necessary, and what does it mean? Because the registration process is concerned with legal and procedural matters, it is not a measure of design/creative ability, which, as previously discussed, is perceived to be core to architecture.¹⁸ Therefore, even though registration confers the legal right to be called an architect and be independent,¹⁹ it does not necessarily have particularly high cultural value.

In addition, a number of interviewees maintained that the registration process seemed to assess something other than these legal-procedural matters—even more removed from the cultural core. In particular, the interview component of the registration process, which some of the interviewees had failed, was contentious:

¹⁶ Page 142 of this thesis.

¹⁷ The responses also contributed to a report by the larger “Equity and Diversity” project; Amanda Roan, Gill Matthewson, Justine Clark, Naomi Stead, Karen Burns, Gillian Whitehouse, Julie Willis, and Sandra Kaji-O’Grady, *Issues of Registration: Preliminary Findings: Arc Linkage Project: Equity and Diversity in the Australian Architecture Profession: Women, Work and Leadership (2011–2014)* (December 2012), http://archiparlour.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/Registration_report_final_17_Dec.pdf.

¹⁸ Page 83 of this thesis.

¹⁹ Cuff, *Architecture*, 153.

I actually sat it four years ago and failed. They said that the process was for people wanting to run their own firm and my experience was always working in teams. [...] The process is easier to pass if you have less experience. That's wrong! Surely, the more experience you have the better.²⁰

I did get a weird comment [...] "Well, you don't always get to work on \$20 million projects." [...] Most of the projects I work on are *at least* fifteen million plus. And I started on a very low level, in that I was a team member, and I have worked up and I have worked *really* hard to get there. And when I get comments like that, I just think: you just don't really understand what I do!

In these comments, registration reinforces the idea of the architect as an individual practitioner—team work seems not to count. Such ideas support the model of the individual genius-architect (despite registration not assessing design ability). Both of the interviewees quoted above were not Anglo-Australian, and were somewhat reserved personalities.²¹ Although these are only two instances uncovered in the research, they do support the view that the interview component of registration—because it is a means to measure the degree to which someone has embodied the values of the profession²²—can create conditions for exclusion.²³ In these cases, the exclusion may relate to ethnicity or reserved demeanour (under the guise of inappropriate experience), but Amanda Roan et al also report instances of gender bias in the registration interview process.²⁴ In addition, Susan Shannon et al record women describing registration as more difficult because of their gender.²⁵ They cite a fear of failure, and the consequences of failure within the office and on site, as a particular issue for women. One of the female interviewees had studied for registration in secret to avoid that scenario (she had passed).

Given all of the complex considerations discussed above, the interviewees placed variable value on registration within the Australian profession. For a significant number, it was simply not necessary: one can "live without it" (M615•T6•2). In addition, registration did not appear to have much impact on promotion nor on the project opportunities an individual was given:

Everyone is doing the same job though. I don't think I am doing any different job now to what I will be doing when I am registered. I am still doing the job of an architect. (F28•T6•1b)

²⁰ Interviewees not identified to ensure anonymity.

²¹ See page 112 of this thesis for a description of the ethnic make-up of the interviewees.

²² Garry Stevens, "Struggle in the Studio: A Bourdivin Look at Architectural Pedagogy," *Journal of Architectural Education* 49, no. 2 (1995): 114.

²³ Joan Acker, "Gendering Organizational Theory," in *Gendering Organizational Analysis*, ed. Albert Mills and Peta Tancred (Newbury Park, CA: SAGE Publications, 1992), 253.

²⁴ Roan et al., *Issues of Registration*: 10.

²⁵ Susan Shannon, Naomi Webb, Yishu Zeng, and Jenna Holder, "Why Architecture Graduates Do Not Register as Architects: A Quantitative and Qualitative South Australian Study 1999–2011," *Creative Education* 5 (2014), <http://www.scirp.org/journal/ce>.

I wanted to be more professional. [...] But then [when you're registered] nobody cares about it. Seriously, *nobody*! (M04•T3•3)

One senior manager spoke of registration signalling that someone was ambitious and willing to step up (F104•T4•4); another that they encouraged “registration as another thing that would help you become promoted” (F25•T2•3). But this was often insufficient incentive, and many were sceptical of the benefits. Because the process is renowned for being daunting, expensive, and time-consuming,²⁶ many chose simply not to register: “it seems to be a lot of effort to what advantage?” (M022•T3•2). In addition, and somewhat perversely, those who had considerable responsibility for projects were working long hours and thus found they had no time.

The final question that arose for registration was ‘what does it mean?’ because it is not seen to measure the cultural core of architecture. Some informants viewed registration as part of the education process, while, for others, it was an indicator of experience.²⁷ Those who thought the former generally registered within a few years of graduating, and those who considered it a mark of their all-roundedness or experience tended to register much later. Later registration raised the stakes for the consequences of failure, and a number of informants argued the registration process also became harder with more experience. In general, it was the interviewed women who considered registration to mark the completion of their education:

I want to do it to close the loop [...] a formality I want to get over with so I don't have to think about it anymore. (F48•T5•2)

It's totally personal and it just completes the picture. (F66•T5•2)

Male informants were more casual, saying they felt no pressure to register (although this casualness will be discussed below with regard to promotions). For some, being labelled an ‘architectural graduate’ was sufficient motivation to become registered:

It always sounds funny, architectural graduate as well. [...] Everyone who sees my e-mail [signature], they're like: “Why are you still a graduate?” (F28•T6•1b)

While registration legally (structurally) determines whether someone is an architect, within these larger offices, it has much less structural significance, having only a tangential impact on promotion

²⁶ Roan et al., *Issues of Registration*: 7.

²⁷ In the UK, registration is clearly a part of the education process: architecture schools run the relevant courses, and it is called Part 3 with the degrees being Parts 1 and 2. In Australia, registration is not aligned with the schools, although academic equivalency of international applicants is required; see footnote 46, page 111 of this thesis.

and opportunities; it was not a prerequisite for advancement (see below), nor even perceived to be required to affirm identity as an architect. Registration is, therefore, culturally a source of ambivalence and some uncertainty in the profession. This structural weakness and cultural ambivalence helps explain why people might allow their registration to lapse:

It's very hard to keep it up, every year you had to keep up insurance, a certain number of things. It's very inflexible for part-time. [...] There's not enough return. (F25•T2•3)

Data supplied by the firms, cross-checked with the state registers in 2012, showed that eleven people in the offices had lapsed registrations (Table 4-3), but only two identified themselves as such and neither seemed concerned about it—registration no longer mattered to them. This suggests that while the act of becoming registered might have some relevance, its overall weakness meant that it did not have ongoing currency. In addition, some registered informants commented that continuing professional development (CPD) requirements were onerous and were considering de-registering.²⁸ One informant said that he only maintained registration because his firm paid the annual fee.

However, the women in this cohort seemed to value registration, attaining it at a far higher rate than the men. It also seemed to pay off for them in terms of promotion, as the next section discusses.

Promotions—“A Title, Which Is All Great and Flashy, But...”

Despite all the firms expressing support for registration, it was possible to attain even the highest status (Tier 1) without it.²⁹ Of those who were promoted in Cohort Two between 2012 and 2014, more than one-third were not registered. Of note, there were two women and four men in this not-registered group; one woman has since registered, but none of the men. Although this is a small sample, it does suggest that registration might be more pertinent for women's advancement, which would confirm Deborah O'Neil et al's career-research pattern that qualifications and credentials are more critical for women.³⁰

From 2012 to September 2014, another fifteen people in Cohort Two achieved a formal title—seven women and eight men (Table 6-3).³¹ One woman and two men were promoted from Tier 3 to Tier 2. Three men were lifted directly to Tier 2 from no previous formal title, but no women replicated the same jump. Women became over half of those in Tier 3, replicating Cohort One's pattern of

²⁸ This is one reason why I de-registered, but it was a difficult decision.

²⁹ A Tier 1 became registered some years after attaining this level.

³⁰ Page 15 of this thesis. Deborah A. O'Neil, Margaret M. Hopkins, and Diana Bilimoria, “Women's Careers at the Start of the 21st Century: Patterns and Paradoxes,” *Journal of Business Ethics* 80, no. 4 (2008): 733.

³¹ At least another two people in this cohort had held Tier 3 level positions in previous firms, but not in their current firm.

women’s easy attainment of this level. However, with only one of the twelve titled women, but five of the fourteen men, in Tier 2, the attainment of this level was still noticeably restricted for women—perpetuating the barrier seen in Table 4-2.

Table 6-3: Cohort Two Formal Titles Achieved, 2012–2014

Cohort Two	2012				2014			
	Women	Men	Total	% women	Women	Men	Total	% women
Total Numbers	25	31	56	45%	-	-		N/A
Tier 2 – Sub-director	0	0		-	1	5	6	17%
Tier 3 – Associate	5	6	11	45%	11	9	20	55%
Titled	5	6	11	45%	12	14	26	43%
% of cohort with titles	20%	19%	20%					

Source: Data derived from information supplied by participating architecture firms and their websites.

Although a small number of people in these large firms had attained Tier 3 promotion when they were in Cohort One, the majority reached this milestone in Cohort Two. Promotion to Tier 2 also occurred more frequently during this time period. It is therefore a crucial time for formal career progression in larger practices, and promotion might therefore be expected to be a concern for those in this cohort. However, the interviews instead revealed a marked ambivalence on this issue.

Cuff describes promotions in architecture as mysterious, and suggests there are four possible routes: reward for work completed or dedication; bribery to keep someone from leaving; talent; and personal connections with those who make decisions regarding promotions.³² Among the interviewees, reward was the most frequently cited criterion for promotion to Tier 3 level. Two older women spoke of their promotions as having been bribes to keep them in the firms. There was little mention of talent. However, the fourth route (personal connections) was much commented on. This is not uncommon in a workplace. Val Singh et al maintain that, although the promotion process is generally presented as rational, subjectivity is always a significant part, because the perception of managers is so critical.³³ Sonia Liff and Kate Ward describe promotion processes—even in what might be seen as a highly rational workplace, such as a bank—as “opaque and overly dependent on personal contacts and subjective decision-making.”³⁴ The same observations were made by the interviewees in this study, particularly the women:

³² Cuff, *Architecture*, 141.

³³ Val Singh, Savita Kumra, and Susan Vinnicombe, “Gender and Impression Management: Playing the Promotion Game,” *Journal of Business Ethics* 37, no. 1 (2002): 78.

³⁴ Sonia Liff and Kate Ward, “Distorted Views through the Glass Ceiling: The Construction of Women’s Understandings of Promotion and Senior Management Positions,” *Gender, Work & Organization* 8, no. 1 (2001): 25.

I guess it is subjective to whoever is involved in the process. (F61•T4•2)

I suppose I'd been here for quite a long time and I had strong, personal relationships with a lot of people. I suppose I'd built that trust and—I don't know—dedication to work. (F40•T3•2)

I think the problem with architecture is that something like [promotion] very much depends on your personal relationship with those above you in the practice. (F44•T5•2)

The movement to Tier 2 was described as being particularly opaque:

I think it's a lot clearer, the route going through the wider group to [Tier 3] than it is from [Tier 3] to [Tier 2]. (M22•T2•3)

Even though the criteria is [in the policy] I don't get the feeling that that's the whole kind of story. I wouldn't profess to fully understand the whole thing—put it that way. (F33•T4•3)

Dana Britton and Laura Logan cite significant research that demonstrates that transparent and formal processes for promotion are a sure mechanism for decreasing inequality in an organisation.³⁵ All three of the firms studied had promotion policies, but the consistent perception of their implementation was of opaqueness and that personal connections trumped stated criteria. In other words, policies are situated in the structural dimension, but their enactment depends on the interaction dimension. In particular, Table 6-3 and Table 4-2 both show a ceiling between Tiers 3 and 2 for women, which seems to suggest that part of the possible opacity of promotion to Tier 2 for women involves an element of homosociality, further evidence of the critical importance of the interaction dimension for promotion:

I feel like you just have to be ridiculously egotistical. (F17•T8•1a)

I mean, females also get promoted and everything, but I have the impression that they need to put in more effort, or they have to be of a certain determined type. And the males don't have to be as determined. They can just be more themselves. (F12•T5•2)

I think now I'm much more aware of how I'm perceived in the office, and that you have to almost appear much more confident even than you are. (F44•T5•2)

The observation that men can “be themselves” but women cannot, or that women have to carefully manage how they are perceived, is evidence of the power of the impression-management behaviour

³⁵ Dana M. Britton and Laura Logan, “Gendered Organizations: Progress and Prospects,” *Sociology Compass* 2, no. 1 (2008): 116–17.

that Singh et al describe, as discussed in Chapter 3.³⁶ More interviewees in this cohort than in the more junior Cohort One were aware that there was a need for assertion and self-promotion required:

You have to drive yourself because no one is going to... You know, they can't read minds. They can't assume that you want to be leading this, or being in charge of that, or being a [Tier 3]. (F48•T5•2)

If you're not putting your hand up and saying, "Hey, look I am doing a lot of hard work, notice me, I'd like to be promoted," then some of those people do tend to fall away and not be noticed so much. There's a level of self-promotion that's involved. (F61•T4•2)

Three of the women interviewed spoke clearly of aiming for promotion and were proactive about it. One woman spoke of a pressing need to be promoted:

I feel a real pressure to progress my career as quickly as possible because [...] at some point, I'm going to want to have a family. [...] I don't really want to move to another practice [...] and start again trying to prove myself and... You know, after all the effort that you put in here. (F44•T5•2)

This may, in part, explain why women in the cohort were tending to stay in the firms (Table 6-1). Joan Williams and Rachel Dempsey argue that women are constantly required to prove themselves, because gender bias based on cultural assumptions means their work is often not seen.³⁷ By staying in a firm, women opt out of a circuit of having to start again to prove themselves. The men, however, did not speak of needing to prove themselves, and tended to downplay promotion as an ambition. One described career progression as "natural":

I guess, ideally, you'd like to see a natural progression to the next level. [...] One day, I think I'd be worried if I was here years and I wasn't. (M30•T4•2)

Comments like this may also be adherence to the cultural script previously mentioned: 'focus on projects and good things will happen.' The difference in expression—between a more laid-back approach by the men and a deliberate one from the women—was marked in the interviews. However, a senior manager spoke of there being a number of people in this cohort in her firm who were "champing to be promoted" (F104•T4•4), listing three men but only one woman. A senior man also noticed high and distracting ambition in young men:

Males tend to be sort of like young bucks; they're pushing all the time and they're always wanting to be winning. I am generalising, but... [females are] less distracted by their own ambition. That's

³⁶ Page 94 of this thesis.

³⁷ Williams and Dempsey, *What Works for Women at Work*.

not to say that they aren't as ambitious, but they are more effective—they're not tortured by it. (M37•T2•4b)

This reticence to reveal (to an interviewer) an ambition to be promoted is part of an overall expressed ambivalence to promotion across the cohort, which was more easily expressed by the men, but also by some of the women. Moreover, one senior man argued that “if someone has to ask, then it's the wrong question” (M11•T1•4a). While no one would turn it down, promotion was not necessarily spoken of as an indicator of the progress many saw as important to becoming an architect. Ambition was far more often expressed as for the project, or for ‘being an architect,’ demonstrating the importance of ‘being’ described by Stevens.³⁸

My career goal is just to be the best architect as I can be, and that doesn't necessarily mean having to be a director of some firm to actually be able to show something for it. (M02•T5•2)

Those kinds of promotions within the company, they don't necessarily mean that you're progressing. [...] [Promotion] just gives you a title, which is all great and flashy, but it's like, do [you] really feel like you've achieved what you wanted to? (F36•T5•2)

I'm ambitious, but more do with project ambitious. I'm really ambitious in wanting to do really complex projects. (F10•T4•3)

Titles were thus spoken of as less important and, similar to registration, not necessarily a measure of being a ‘true’ architect. One woman and two men thought they were psychologically useful as motivation, and that the firms used them as such, but, generally, this cohort did not articulate titles as culturally important. However, somewhat inconsistent with this stated stance was a general expression of respect for those with formal titles the firms.

One interviewee speculated that the lack of women at the top acted as a disincentive for women to aim for promotion:

It just can't be easy up there... So, maybe women kind of don't want to strive to go to the top, because it's very lonesome up there. (F36•T5•2)

In the previous chapter, one interviewee commented that being a woman sole-practitioner seemed to be lonely. Here, there is the idea that to be one of a very few women at the top of a larger firm would also be lonely—lonely is an emotive word. According to Ruth Sealy, the presence or absence of senior women in an organisation has a symbolic value for young women's conception of the

³⁸ Stevens, “Struggle in the Studio,” 112. Discussed page 92 of this thesis.

viability of their careers.³⁹ Robin Ely et al argue that people learn new roles by identifying with role models, emulating them, and then testing against their own self-concepts.⁴⁰ Where role models for women are scarce and unenviable, as they sometimes seem to be in architecture, it can be difficult for individual women to see a way forward. But there are other potential restrictions for women, which are the subject of the next section.

Constricting Women's Careers

There were two main potential career constrictions described by women interviewees in Cohort Two at this stage of their career when, due to increased experience, they receive more responsibility and autonomy. One was that the workload demands were consistently seen to be incompatible with normal full-time hours, let alone the part-time hours that were assumed with motherhood. The second constriction was that this level of responsibility involved interactions with people outside of the architectural office who were predominantly men. In Cohort One, this was discussed in terms of being young and female; for this cohort, the women were aware of being hyper-visible as one woman among many men.

Responsibility and Motherhood—"The Maths Don't Stack Up"

Women in this cohort were in their early-to-mid-thirties, prime child-bearing age, but at the time of the interviews, few had had children (only four of the twenty-five women, with another two pregnant). As with those in Cohort One, the prospect of motherhood combined with a career was somewhat daunting. As one interviewee put it "That's the big divide—having children" (F36•T5•2). Even the potential for maternity could affect the assignment of project opportunities to women, as gender stereotypes implied 'unreliability':⁴¹

I'm working mainly with women and they're fantastic at what they do. But at the same time, I know any of those women could well end up disappearing for a while, you know, they may have children. [...] And that tends not to happen with males, you know, they tend to be there for the long term much more. [...] Knowing if you have got a very good male working here, with no risk of them walking out, having children or whatever, that's very valuable. It's all part of our ability to deliver work. (M37•T2•4b)

³⁹ Ruth Sealy, "Changing Perceptions of Meritocracy in Senior Women's Careers," *Gender in Management: An International Journal* 25, no. 3 (2010): 194.

⁴⁰ Robin J. Ely, Herminia Ibarra, and Deborah M. Kolb, "Taking Gender into Account: Theory and Design for Women's Leadership Development Programs," *Academy of Management Learning & Education* 10, no. 3 (2011): 477.

⁴¹ Kathryn Haynes, "Body Beautiful? Gender, Identity and the Body in Professional Services Firms," *Gender, Work & Organization* 19, no. 5 (2012): 502.

No other senior person was as explicit about the potential for pregnancy presenting a business risk.⁴² It was, however, implicit in other incidents reported:

My boss said to me, that I'd got to a certain senior level because I gave 120%. And then when suddenly I met my partner and I wanted to have children and everything, I couldn't give 120% anymore. (F03•T4•4a)

It's a reality of the modern world that we can't escape, and we have to work with it or else we have an office that has no working women in it... That's the easy way out, I guess, isn't it? [laughs] (M41•T1•4c)

The "easy way out" was not taken by the studied firms, but it was noted in other firms where interviewees had worked, and where it affected their longevity and progression:

In my previous practice, none of the [Tier 1s] were female and in that nine-year period there were two female [Tier 3s]—but only one at one time. (M46•T5•3)

In a firm of 120, there were female architects, but none of them in any position of anything, apart from one [Tier 3] who was the daughter of one of the [Tier 1s]. (F33•T4•3)

The assumption that women are the prime child-carers and will therefore work on a part-time basis to accommodate carer responsibilities is prevalent in wider society and, according to the interviews, was clearly also the case in the profession. Like those in Cohort One, most in this cohort (women and men) argued that holding some kind of responsibility for a project, or part of a larger project, simply could not happen on a part-time basis. Moreover, they argued that such a role required more than full-time hours:

Probably six months ago, I was doing a lot of overtime, a lot of late nights. [...] That's when this project was in middle of construction and there were shop drawings coming through and RFIs [requests for information]. You have *got* to get them out and done quickly. (F61•T4•2)

One female interviewee compared her pre- and post-child capacity for work and accepted that the difference ruled her out of contention for project-leader roles:

On some of our projects, I've worked ninety-hour weeks consistently for a huge band of time. Now, compare that to my [current] three-days-a-week at eight hours, that's twenty-four hours [...] So when you think, "Well, do I give this person who can give ninety hours a week the project to

⁴² Also reported in Katherine Sang, Andrew Dainty, and Stephen Ison, "Gender in the UK Architectural Profession: (Re)Producing and Challenging Hegemonic Masculinity," *Work, Employment & Society* 28, no. 2 (2014): 8; Shannon et al., "Why Architecture Graduates Do Not Register as Architects."

run? Or do I give this person who has got the twenty-four hours a week to run a project?” Yeah, the maths don’t stack up. (F65•T6•1b)

It was not just the maths of the long hours or the demands of the construction industry. To be responsible for a project was to be devoted to it in terms of mental energy as well, and, like those in the previous cohort, women in Cohort Two were apprehensive about how having a family would combine with their work:

I am in that project-leader role now, running the whole project, and I know it’s such a full-time, demanding... I go home to cook my dinner and I’m still thinking about it. And I just can’t imagine being able to do that three days a week. (F40•T3•2)

This last interviewee did not usually work extended hours, but found the project dominated her thinking at all times. All of those interviewed in this cohort accepted that women with children or working part time would not be assigned positions of responsibility. They also found it acceptable that part-timers would be assigned relatively menial drafting work:

[When my friend returned from maternity leave] she’s like, “I’m back where I was when I was twenty-two and just drafting up toilets and stuff.” Because they can’t put her in any kind of management role with the project, which is where she was when she left, because she’s only there three days a week. (F325•T5•2)

One woman spoke of delaying her first child for a number of years in order to see through the completion of a good project on which she became the project leader. When she returned, the work she was assigned was frustrating. Despite enjoying architecture and having a strong drive, she thought working in a mediocre role on a project, coupled with the cost of childcare, might mean she would be looking at other options, such as work on small commissions. Others thought the same:

I might have more flexibility with the children, put them to bed, do my own private work at night. There’s a curiosity that maybe it could be easier if you’re doing your own thing and having a family. (F40•T3•2)

The women interviewed who did not have children all thought that having a family would have a significant impact on their careers:

I think it’s just annoying to think that now that you’re starting to get to a point where you might be getting more job satisfaction than you were five years ago, it’s also happening at the same time where you might be thinking about having babies. It’s like, argh! (F325•T5•2)

I see it as the biggest stumbling—oh, I won't say 'stumbling block'—but... challenge in my career. (F40•T3•2)

Joan Williams describes the sudden stopping of a career at the birth of children as the 'maternal wall.'⁴³ In other occupations and professions, part-time work has been described as a sign of "permanently renounced ambition."⁴⁴ In architecture, reconciling children and work life for women was simply described as impossible. This will be discussed further in relation to the next cohort, where more interviewees are parents.

The Male-Dominated Construction Process

Increased responsibility meant increased interactions with external groups, such as clients, consultants (including engineers), and construction-site workers—all of which are generally male-dominated.⁴⁵ Kris Paap argues that the building site, in particular, is an arena where an intense masculine culture of a working-class "macho bravado" masculinity is enacted.⁴⁶ Jacqueline Watts maintains that this normative dominance of masculinity extends the numerical dominance of men in construction to create a highly "aggressive, conflict-ridden and very 'macho'" culture.⁴⁷ In the interviews for this project, some meetings with these groups were described as being just that—aggressive and intimidating for architects:

I think that for some girls, it would be intimidating and maybe a bit intimidating to speak up in the meetings and argue with these guys. Because a lot of the site, and going there as an architect, is a builder trying to bully you around. Things get a little bit heated at times and you have to argue for what you think is right and they [builders] argue for what they think is cheap. (M05•T2•4a)

[The builder] threw [a heavy metal object] across the table because he got so angry with the point she was making—whatever the point was, it was a thing we'd been arguing about for weeks and weeks—and he just threw it! (F34•T1•4b)

⁴³ Joan Williams, "The Glass Ceiling and the Maternal Wall in Academia," *New Directions for Higher Education* 2005, no. 130 (2005). Also Lotte Bailyn, "Time in Careers—Careers in Time," *Human Relations* 57, no. 12 (2004): 1514.

⁴⁴ Arlie Russell Hochschild and Anne Machung, *The Second Shift: Working Parents and the Revolution at Home* (New York: Viking, 1989), 98.

⁴⁵ Women comprise 13% of degree-qualified engineers and under 2% of the construction trades. Andre Kaspura, *The Engineering Profession: A Statistical Overview* (Barton, ACT: Institute of Engineers, 2012), 25, https://www.engineersaustralia.org.au/sites/default/files/shado/Representation/Stats/statistical_overview_2012_1.pdf; Department of Family and Community Services Women NSW, *Women in Trades: The Missing 48 Percent, Women NSW Occasional Paper* (Sydney: NSW Government, 2013), 5, http://www.women.nsw.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0017/268010/3000_WNSW-OccasionalPaper_document_ART.pdf.

⁴⁶ Kris Paap, *Working Construction: Why White Working-Class Men Put Themselves—and the Labor Movement—in Harm's Way* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006).

⁴⁷ Jacqueline H. Watts, "Porn, Pride and Pessimism: Experiences of Women Working in Professional Construction Roles," *Work, Employment & Society* 21, no. 2 (2007): 303, 309. See also Andrew R. J. Dainty, Barbara M. Bagilhole, and Richard H. Neale, "Male and Female Perspectives on Equality Measures for the UK Construction Sector," *Women in Management Review* 16, no. 6 (2001); Alexander Styhre, "The Overworked Site Manager: Gendered Ideologies in the Construction Industry," *Construction Management and Economics* 29, no. 9 (2011); Andrew Agapiou, "Perceptions of Gender Roles and Attitudes toward Work among Male and Female Operatives in the Scottish Construction Industry," *Construction Management and Economics* 20, no. 8 (2002).

Joan Acker describes how a potential for violence lurks behind any authority—it is, she suggests, structural.⁴⁸ Violent displays are a means to assert authority and control by fear. When the person being violent is male and is directing his violence at a woman, it is additionally stressful due to general societal warnings about (and numerous cases of) male violence against women. Among the interviewees, complaints about such behaviour, made to building companies, were reported to have variable responses. In the incident with the thrown metal object described above, the thrower was sent to an anger-management course—but it was not his first time. Another person reported a very similar incident and, again, the course had no effect. In a third case, the incident was completely denied. Such aggression magnifies the physical difference between women and men, but there were other physical differences noted by interviewees:

There's sexism on the building site, but also you need to be slightly more... You need to be louder, you need to be bigger! (M14•T3•3)

It was tough. I mean, the builders were bastards and a lot of the consultants were quite aggressive as well. It was quite old-school, with a lot of big, red-nosed, Scottish blokes who'd kind of shout their way through a meeting. (F64•T2•4a)

There's a certain percentage of men who are that sexist-pig type that you do come across and they only respond to other men who are tall, thick-necked, or loud—or all three. Actually, sometimes you will be in a room where simply your voice isn't loud enough or deep enough to simply be heard. (F23•T2•4b)

Like, I've had some pretty aggressive conversations and you have to have the personality to be able to handle those conversations... You know, maybe it *does* help [being male]. (M46•T5•3)

Each of the women interviewed had experienced different kinds of aggressive situations and drew on their own resources to deal with them. The possibility of aggression also depended on how much the men involved adopted that stance. One woman described working with a builder who revealed he used to pretend to be aggressive:

He had to put up this sort of façade as being this really forceful builder. And in the end, he gave up on it; he couldn't keep up with the acting role. (F27•T4•3)

Every construction or consultant firm had its own work culture that affected behaviour, and this had a significant impact on interactions with architects, whether female or male:

⁴⁸ Joan Acker, "The Future of 'Gender and Organizations': Connections and Boundaries," *Gender, Work & Organization* 5, no. 4 (1998): 204.

When you're on-site, you're very much outside of *our* working environment and *our* company culture, and often thrown quite alone into someone else's company culture. [...] Some of them are quite... yeah, quite horrible really. [...] You see the way they belittle each other and the way they undermine each other, and tantrums and sulking and anger and swearing and stomping and slamming. [...] They'd bully each other... comments that you would never expect to hear in the workplace—misogynist comments and homophobic comments. (M70•T3•3)

While this kind of situation was difficult for women and men, being the obvious sole woman compounded matters:

When I go to every consultant meeting, I am the only woman. And I am the only woman on-site. (F61•T4•2)

It's very rare that you have another female in the room. When you do it's really funny, you often end up being seated together. It's like, "Oh, they'll have something to talk about." (F23•T2•4b)

Or they mix you up. Like, there were all these guys in suits, all much the same and she was red-haired wearing green and I'm blonde wearing black, and this guy *still* mixed up our names, but not the guys' names! (Lunch meeting)

Being the only woman in such circumstances meant the women were 'hyper-visible,' to use Rosabeth Kanter's term, and therefore prone to having gender stereotypes imposed.⁴⁹ Deneen Hatmaker argues that, in such situations, professional identity is often at risk:⁵⁰

We have had things like where guys swear in meetings and say, "Oh sorry, I've forgotten there is a lady in the room." And that annoys me because then they are just drawing attention to the fact that I'm there. (F44•T5•2)

The interviewee experienced this interaction as marginalising because it amplified or spotlighted her gender identity, promoting it over her identity as an architect.⁵¹ Her professional identity was 'undone' by her gender identity. Being described as 'a lady' (which was noted by more than one woman interviewed) also ushers in a series of both gendered and classed social expectations: a lady would be treated in a certain way (such as not being exposed to swearing), but also be expected to behave in particular ways (such as not exposing herself to the rough environment of construction). It not only draws attention to the woman in the room, but also implies her presence is not the norm. However, one senior man argued that the swearing on-site stopped for all architects:

⁴⁹ Rosabeth Moss Kanter, *Men and Women of the Corporation*, 2nd ed. (New York: Basic Books, 1993), 230.

⁵⁰ Deneen M. Hatmaker, "Engineering Identity: Gender and Professional Identity Negotiation among Women Engineers," *Gender, Work & Organization* 20, no. 4 (2013): 386.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 387.

They [the guys on-site] have that problem with architects generally, is that you go in there and all of a sudden they're not using the four-letter words anymore, they're talking with you in normal terms. Whereas once you leave the room, that's all that comes out! (M05•T2•4a)

As soon as we left the meeting, there seemed to be another meeting where the guys went into a room and shouted at each other. (F27•T4•3)

In such situations, class intersects with gender, making the situation doubly problematic for women. While being called a 'lady' was resented by some of the younger women, both this title and being the sole woman seemed less problematic for older women. Age, as Christine Williams et al attest,⁵² is a significant mediating factor.

Some women spoke of deflecting attention via clothing. While there are practical, and health-and-safety reasons for what might be worn on a site, it was also described as very much a bid to try and "fit into your surroundings" (F61•T4•2), and "look like everyone else on-site" (F40•T3•2). Kathleen Buse et al found that women who had persisted in the engineering profession had engaged in similar adaptation by modifying their physicality, in ways such as "'dressing down,' 'pulling my hair back' or 'changing the tone of my voice'."⁵³ These tactics reduced the salience of their gender identity. One female interviewee in this study thought this extended to the office:

I [want people to] see me as a professional and not see me that much as a woman, or not be distracted by looking at any curves or anything. (F12•T5•2)

One woman, who, as a new graduate, had experienced the difficulties of being 'young and female' on-site, now found that "most of the people I am dealing day-to-day with are quite professional" (F61•T4•2). Her gender was no longer overrode her professional identity:

Whenever I get sent e-mails now (because everyone's male within my consultant team, even clients) it will say 'gents.' You know, I'm just one of the gents. (F61•T4•2)

The use of the word 'gents' again triggers gender and class social distinctions; through the use of this title, this interviewee is not like just any man, but one of the building-consultant team, the white-collar professionals whose job is to control what blue-collar construction workers on a site do. Although to be considered 'one of the gents' is to be accepted professionally, it does not mean being 'one of the boys.' On some projects it was common for the consultant team to gather for a

⁵² Christine L. Williams, Chandra Muller, and Kristine Kilanski, "Gendered Organizations in the New Economy," *Gender & Society* 26, no. 4 (2012): 558.

⁵³ Kathleen Buse, Diana Bilimoria, and Sheri Perelli, "Why They Stay: Women Persisting in US Engineering Careers," *Career Development International* 18, no. 2 (2013): 144.

drink at the end of the week, but one woman spoke of always leaving early. There was, she thought, a fine balance between the networking opportunities associated with such socialising and maintaining respect. To be considered ‘one of the gents’ would be regarded by the men as a measure of respect and elevation to a “social masculine status,” as Paap describes it.⁵⁴ Gender was not relevant in the situation described in the previous quote, to the extent that:

I was on-site a couple of weeks ago [with] one of the clients’ representatives, we were walking down the street and he yelled out to one of the guys working on the facade, “Hey, mate, I’ve got the architect here if you want to ask him any questions.” *Him!* And I looked at him and I was like, Hey! Oh, that is a bit weird. [laughs] (F61•T4•2)

Paap observes that construction workers are almost always referred to as men, and argues this use of language is essential for reproducing “the industry as an all-male enclave.”⁵⁵ The quote above seems to indicate that this enclave extends beyond the construction workers to include all those involved in the construction process, including architects. More than simply signalling her acceptance as a professional, this interviewee’s experience of a casual reference to all architects as male confirms the process of construction at all levels as being a wholly male endeavour.

Despite some of these complex issues, many of the women interviewed found being on-site both interesting and rewarding:

I love going to site; I love interacting and going to meetings and talking to builders and consultants, doing inspections... All that I find really exciting. (F61•T4•2)

Another woman had never experienced problems in these male-dominated situations, which she thought was due to having had a more senior woman mentor her in a particular model of interacting:

One of my first projects on-site was with X. [...] I learned a lot from her in terms of it doesn’t matter whether you’re male or female, [...] [but] it’s more of the relationship with the builders and contractors on site. [...] As in, I’m not *the* architect and “I know everything and you just do everything I tell you.” It’s more kind of the: “you help me, I help you” kind of thing. (F07•T3•2)

However, setting the terms of interaction is not always possible. At one site meeting observed for the study, one woman’s attempts at working in a collaborative manner were constantly rebuffed. At one point, she outlined that part of the work completed was not in accordance with the relevant

⁵⁴ Paap, *Working Construction*, 95.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 121.

code. One of the building contractors asked for the number of the code. From his demeanour, it was a joke aimed at entertaining his fellow builders, since his asking implied that the architect was “so serious” that she would know the number. How much of this exchange was due to gender is difficult to assess as there is a traditional antipathy towards architects on-site whereby they struggle to justify and assert their expertise and authority, as noted by Alexander Styhre and Pernilla Gluch.⁵⁶ While handling this situation is dependent on experience, at another level it is part of a game of insults and counter-insults (usually described as “just a joke”). Watts, following Coates, argues that “being able to take a joke” is central to male identity and is an important feature of male-dominated environments.⁵⁷ If the architect above had treated the question as a joke and countered it with one of her own (and especially in the process put him down), then the contractor may have become less obstructive.⁵⁸ While the architect considered that respect was earned by being competent and professional (being serious), the contractor was bringing the rules (and games) of a male-dominated environment to the situation. As one male interviewee put it:

On building sites, you get exposed to a lot more smart-arse sort of types. But if you came back with a smart response... that would really rock them and put them in their place. And you'd get a bit of respect, funnily enough. (M14•T3•3)

Valerie Caven et al also note that the women architects they interviewed spoke of humour as a strategy that demonstrated confidence and authority.⁵⁹ However, being serious is a strategy that particularly young women architects use to counter-act having their competency doubted. Hatmaker describes “projecting a professional image” as an important identity-negotiation mechanism for women in male-dominated environments.⁶⁰ Singh et al call it ‘professional demeanour,’ and note that the women in their study used it much more frequently than men.⁶¹ The woman mentioned above, who was challenged to name the relevant code number, was projecting seriousness, but this clashed with the localised situation of the construction site, where “having a laugh” is culturally important.⁶²

One senior woman argued that sometimes there was an advantage to being a woman because of lowered expectations based on the stereotype that women would not understand construction:

⁵⁶ Alexander Styhre and Pernilla Gluch, “Creativity and Its Discontents: Professional Ideology and Creativity in Architect Work,” *Creativity and Innovation Management* 18, no. 3 (2009): 228.

⁵⁷ Jacqueline H. Watts, “Can’t Take a Joke? Humour as Resistance, Refuge and Exclusion in a Highly Gendered Workplace,” *Feminism & Psychology* 17, no. 2 (2007): 264.

⁵⁸ Watts cites one woman defusing a difficult situation by just such a tactic; *ibid.*, 261.

⁵⁹ Valerie Caven, Elena Navarro-Astor, and Marie Diop, “A Cross-National Study of Accommodating and ‘Usurpatory’ Practices by Women Architects in the UK, Spain and France,” *Architectural Theory Review* 17, no. 2–3 (2012): 370.

⁶⁰ Hatmaker, “Engineering Identity,” 393.

⁶¹ Singh, Kumra, and Vinnicombe, “Gender and Impression Management,” 82.

⁶² Watts, “Can’t Take a Joke?” 264.

You're always expected, being a woman, not to quite know as much, so when you *do* demonstrate that you do know, they kind of go: "Oh!" Or alternatively, it puts you in a position where you can ask a question [...] and you can kind of get them to explain a bit more, and then come in and go: "Well, hold on, no..." (F61•T1•4a)

This interviewee was able to mobilise gendered social expectations and stereotypes to her advantage, either to impress or to engineer negotiations as the mode of interaction, something that Williams calls "gender judo."⁶³ Once again, the confidence that comes with age and experience made a significant difference among the interviewees; those women interviewed in senior cohorts were more skilled at negotiating the difficulties of these male-dominated groups.

Because of the numerical dominance of men among clients, consultants, and construction workers, there was little way to avoid gender distinction when engaged with these groups. Gender distinction seemed to be always present, whether an individual worked with the social expectations of gender and used them to be listened to, or tried to downplay the body's gender by dressing in careful ways, or was accepted as an honorary male. For some, at times, it threatened to de-stabilise professional identity, particularly in the early stages of their career when professional identity was more vulnerable.

Coupled with the almost universal perception that good roles are not possible for those working on a part-time basis, difficulties with site interactions might cause women to consider leaving architecture, in ways additional to the conditions that also affected men. Those interviewees in this cohort had enough experience to be able to consider not just the opportunities they had had (and were likely to have) in architecture, but also their strengths and what they enjoyed, and in what field they might best be able to fulfil these. Several of the men spoke positively of leaving architecture to become project managers. However, the women interviewed often cited less positive reasons for leaving:

And sometimes you question, why? You know, especially if you're really tired and you're working a lot and your personal life is suffering and you think: surely, it isn't really worth it! (F44•T5•2)

There's a lot of responsibility and there doesn't always appear to be the level of maybe respect, generally speaking, I suppose. Not necessarily in office, but outside. But then we're paid really badly. (F48•T5•2)

⁶³ Joan Williams, "Women, Work and the Art of Gender Judo," *The Washington Post* January 24, 2014. Willis and Hanna document women architects in the early twentieth century also using such tactics, Julie Willis and Bronwyn Hanna, *Women Architects in Australia 1900–1950* (Red Hill, ACT: Royal Australian Institute of Architects, 2001), 99.

There are times where you do late hours and things aren't all, you know, going well for you at work and you think: why the hell did I do this? (F61•T4•2)

All the factors listed by the women were echoes of those from a UK report into why women leave architecture, with an additional one, lack of respect for architects.⁶⁴ This will be discussed more in the next chapter.

Conclusion

Those in Cohort Two were valuable members of staff, experienced enough to shoulder responsibility and eager to accept it in order to become closer to being a fully fledged architect. They had fully absorbed the culture and structure of the profession, and practices and processes produced gender inequities for this cohort more than for Cohort One.

The culture of architecture as a dominating and compelling occupation was firmly embedded in these years, and manifested in statements that consistently framed ambition and success in terms of good roles on interesting projects. These cultural ideals resulted in long hours, which were unquestioned, expected, and embraced as a sign that one was becoming a 'real' architect. The 'naturalness' of these hours could be mediated by the work culture and management of individual firms. Heavy and time-demanding workloads were described as individual choice rather than a structural consequence—a product of internal (mis)management, the nature of the construction industry, or the prevailing economic climate that (at the time of the interviews) was seeing fees cuts, so project teams were sometimes severely under-staffed.

The cultural ideals of architecture also produced ambivalence towards more formal career milestones of registration and promotion. A parallel-value system was expressed, which did not mean that interviewees did not desire the milestones, but more that there was a normative way to discuss ambition in the profession that eschewed these formal measures. Gender disparities in promotion—which appeared in this cohort, with only one woman but five men achieving Tier 2—could thus be regarded as not important. In marked contrast, women attained promotion to Tier 3 very easily in these offices. Women also attained registration at a greater rate than men, which suggests that they viewed it as more important. But, as O'Neil et al observe, this kind of human capital is insufficient.⁶⁵ In this cohort, it appeared to be social capital and social relationships that made a difference when it came to career advancement or development, either via promotion or via

⁶⁴ Ann de Graft-Johnson, Sandra Manley, and Clara Greed, *Why Do Women Leave Architecture?* (Bristol: Royal Institute of British Architects, University of West England, 2003), 3, www.riba.org/fileLibrary/pdf/WWLAFinalreportJune03.pdf.

⁶⁵ Page 15 of this thesis.

assignment to the highly valued good project opportunities. If women had children, they were automatically and unquestioningly excluded from—and excluded themselves from—the latter roles because of the assumed time demands. Even without children, there was some suggestion that women's potential for maternity would also limit them.

Internal interactions within the firms favoured those with social connections, high confidence levels, and self-promotion skills. Because women in this cohort had observed some unequal distribution of opportunities and promotions, some were beginning to question and critique this. Social interactions also became openings for gender distinction when, with more responsibility, there was more exposure to male-dominated environments outside of the firms. These had the potential to threaten women's professional identity in a number of ways, and some women were adjusting their gender identity to counter the distinction of being the only woman. However, more general antipathy towards architects from the construction industry was present in some of these interchanges and could, at times, obscure whether gender was the salient feature.

Gendering processes compounded with other factors inherent to the profession to complicate the careers of women in this cohort. The degree to which this occurred depended on the particular situation of each woman. Maternity triggered the most difficulty, but simply being female hindered career progression for some. These factors become more obvious for those in the next cohort, as seen in the next chapter.

Chapter 7 – Cohort Three: Reconciliation

Definitely, it's really clear that people get to a point [mid-thirties] and leave, or change something about the way that they're working.

F325•T5•2



Illustration 7-1: Photograph Taken by Nick Bassett in One of the Three Partner Firms in 2012.¹

This chapter will address the testimony and observations of interviewees in Cohort Three, who had between eleven- and fifteen-years post-graduation experience and were mostly in their mid-to-late thirties. In Dana Cuff's taxonomy, people this age might still be in their "middle years" or could be "fully fledged."² There are different levels within the fully fledged phase, as career development in

¹ This photograph was taken as part of the visual research component of the larger "Equity and Diversity" project. Persons featured in this photograph worked for one of the partner firms in 2012, but their appearance here should not be taken as an indication that they were interviewed for this dissertation—the two components of the research were quite separate.

² Dana Cuff, *Architecture: The Story of Practice* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), 151.

architecture is a fluctuating process, Cuff argues.³ Given this ambiguity, ‘mid-career’ is perhaps the safest, albeit rather vague, label to apply to members of this cohort in the studied firms.

The main theme for this cohort is best described as reconciliation, and the chapter considers this in three overlapping areas. First, it addresses how those in this cohort had reconciled to the work they were doing. Most had widened their idea of what an architect is and does, opening up a range of career paths, which led to a corresponding opening up of the structural and cultural dimensions of the profession. Second, there was an ongoing process of reconciliation with the workplace in relation to attitudes to titled positions and continued tenure within a firm. Third, by this stage, most of the cohort had children, so processes of reconciling parenthood are discussed, in terms of perceptions of part-time work, what working in architecture means for working mothers, and the impact of parenthood on careers. In these last two areas, interviewees interacted with the structure and culture of the profession by both adjusting and asserting their professional identities.

Reconciling to the Work

For interviewees, the most-valued conception of an architect while at architecture school and in their early career was the figure of the designer, and the clearest route to embodying it was seen to be through owning a practice. But, while the Cohort Three interviewees in the study had the experience to pursue this path, they had generally shifted their view of the ideal architect away from the designer/owner concept. Instead, they were typically reconciled with the work that they did, and found enjoyment in aspects other than the designer role.

Rethinking Design and Creativity

Those interviewed in this cohort were mostly working on projects someone else had designed:

You’re not just under the umbrella of your client—and what their brand and design aspirations are, and their budgets and all those sorts of constraints—but you’re also under the umbrella of a brand, which is the practice that you work for. And you have to have some alignment with that. (F323•T2•3)

You end up, for the most part, doing someone else’s design. [...] You’re managing something for someone else and delivering it for someone else. And so you have to decide whether you’re comfortable with that. (M05•T2•4a)

Those who were not comfortable with “delivering for someone else,” or could not see a place for themselves in the firm, or still held the ideal of owning their own practice, would leave, often to

³ Ibid., 149.

start their own firm. In fact, one manager (F25•T2•3) identified the age group captured in Cohort Three as precisely the time when people would leave that firm “to [start] their own practice.” This observation supports the data presented in Chapter 2 that showed ownership levels sharply increasing in this age group.⁴ However, those who stayed and were interviewed spoke only vaguely of the possibility of setting up on their own. In general, they described their vision of an architect in a broader way than the pure design role and they also considered creativity to be complex:

The main aesthetic has been determined and you have to be creative in making that main aesthetic work during construction. (F27•T4•3)

I’m taking other people’s designs, which are either partly or fully realised, and then making them happen. [...] There’s always some design—in a kind of broad sense—involved in making something happen. (M14•T3•3)

I realised actually that I liked the kind of messed-up nature of architecture, the fact that it *was* qualified by so many other things. I thought I’d go crazy if I was not hindered by so many constraints... somehow... peculiarly. (F64•T2•4a)

Laurie Cohen et al assert that the technical aspect of architecture is subsumed within the creative discourse as a support to creativity.⁵ Consequently, Alexander Styhre and Pernilla Gluch describe “creative activities [as] thus glimpses of light in a long night of non-creative work.”⁶ However, few of the interviewees in Cohort Three (and Cohort Four) described their day-to-day work in this way. Instead, they described design and creativity as including the crafting and resolution of a building, rather than subservient to it, and this integration was central to both their understanding and enjoyment of architecture:

[Details] are hard and if you see how they can be resolved... it’s just so good to see. Yes, it’s really beautiful. It is totally obsessive! (F51•T5•3)

I actually think ‘innovation’ is probably a more important word for us than ‘creative.’ It’s being at the forefront of design through [the] best use of current technology and how buildings go together. (M22•T2•3)

⁴ Figure 2-10, page 47 of this thesis.

⁵ Laurie Cohen, Adrian Wilkinson, John Arnold, and Rachael Finn, “Remember I’m the Bloody Architect!’: Architects, Organizations and Discourses of Profession,” *Work, Employment & Society* 19, no. 4 (2005): 782.

⁶ Alexander Styhre and Pernilla Gluch, “Creativity and Its Discontents: Professional Ideology and Creativity in Architect Work,” *Creativity and Innovation Management* 18, no. 3 (2009): 226.

Such crafting had also been important for the junior cohorts, but they had expressed this in terms of a lack of it meant they were not ‘real’ architects.⁷ For those in Cohort Three, their identity as an architect was strongly tied to an understanding of design as the intellectual intrigue and problem-solving involved in putting a building together. This negotiation of the myriad complexities of a building also included the social skills needed to move and execute a project:

I like being on site, seeing things happen, negotiating with builders, talking to clients [...] just dealing with everyone day-to-day at the nitty-gritty level. It’s a lot of fun. (M14•T3•3)

The politics are quite a buzz. [...] On a project, you find out, it becomes very political, and you have to be able to navigate your way through and bring people along. (M21•T2•4b)

Sometimes the client can’t see why they need to do that, and to be able to convince them why they need to do it is something I enjoy. [...] On the occasion when you can convince them, it’s highly rewarding. (M22•T2•3)

Cuff argues that a much broader definition of the activity of design is important for understanding architectural practice, and needs to include all interactions, including those described by these interviewees.⁸ Moreover, across all the cohorts, women and men alike spoke of engagement and collaboration with other people as not only being integral to architecture, but also part of what made the practice of it interesting and enjoyable. Similarly, Valerie Caven and Marie Diop found that the social relationships architects formed during the execution of projects were a major intrinsic reward of the profession, and provided them with “a great deal of personal satisfaction.”⁹ As one interviewee said:

It’s quite a social job in the end. You have to deal with different people in the office and consultants and clients. (F12•T5•2)

In Chapter 6, it was noted that these relationships and interactions could be numerically dominated by men. One male interviewee in Cohort Three described his enjoyment of being on site because of the “game qualities” in the interactions (M14•T3•3). Some of the games described in the last chapter affected the younger women’s sense of professional identity. Although the women in this cohort were more experienced and more capable of handling such games, they still encountered

⁷ Page 151 of this thesis.

⁸ Cuff, *Architecture*, 61.

⁹ Valerie Caven and Marie Diop, “Architecture: A ‘Rewarding’ Career? An Anglo-French Comparative Study of Intrinsic Rewards in the Architecture Profession,” *Construction Management and Economics* 30, no. 7 (2012): 520.

incidents where men demonstrated what Mary Blair-Loy calls a “base-line mistrust of women”—unable to see them as a professional:¹⁰

He [consultant] did this whole take his card around to everyone, but deliberately skipped me. [...] And it's not like he accidentally skipped me, because I saw the expression on his face. (F10•T4•3)

This [new] consultant came in, the client said, “Oh, have you met the architects?” And he just went straight to X [male junior colleague] and put out his hand, “Pleased to meet you.” And I'm just sitting there, you know! I expect it. [...] In the end, it was apparent because I was running the meeting [...] and X was running out to print off plans. But it doesn't need to be said. It's there, it's apparent, and you run this risk of... I can't really be bothered making a big point of it. (F33•T4•3)

There was a degree of self-censoring present in this last quotation, regarding the risks of ‘making a big point’ of such an interaction. Because social interactions and relationships are critical for an architecture project, to disrupt them is to risk disrupting the project more broadly. To make a comment could also have had the effect of further amplifying the gender distinction that the consultant had introduced into the interaction. Neither of the interviewees quoted above reacted immediately to the incidents they describe.¹¹ The first dismissed it as “just what happens sometimes”—the kind of dismissal that Deneen Hatmaker calls ‘rationalisation,’ and describes as a coping mechanism that enables women to continue when their professional identity is threatened.¹² The second interviewee spoke in terms of rationalisation—since she said she expected such behaviour—but ended up by ‘proving herself,’ a process that Hatmaker argues is a more proactive form of identity negotiation. This interviewee asserted her competence in the meeting and effected a change in the consultant's behaviour: “he started speaking to me, and in the end was calling me by my name. And he hadn't even shook my hand or anything!” (F33•T4•3) While this interviewee expected such incidents, she countered them by impressing her professional image. Generally, the Cohort Three women saw such incidents as tiresome but not egregious.

Different Career Paths in Architecture

In Cohort Three, a wider understanding of what constitutes design and architectural practice meant that paths other than the traditional one of being the designer were identifiable, and specialisations began to be identified and valued. Judith Blau notes that the architecture profession has resisted

¹⁰ Mary Blair-Loy, “It's Not Just What You Know, It's Who You Know: Technical Knowledge, Rainmaking, and Gender among Finance Executives,” *Research in the Sociology of Work* 10 (2001): 69.

¹¹ Likewise, the women interviewed by Caven et al. thought it best not to react to such incidents; Valerie Caven, Elena Navarro-Astor, and Marie Diop, “A Cross-National Study of Accommodating and ‘Usurpatory’ Practices by Women Architects in the UK, Spain and France,” *Architectural Theory Review* 17, no. 2–3 (2012): 371.

¹² Deneen M. Hatmaker, “Engineering Identity: Gender and Professional Identity Negotiation among Women Engineers,” *Gender, Work & Organization* 20, no. 4 (2013): 393.

specialisation, as it runs counter to the ideals of creative genius and architecture as an art.¹³ Specialisation is, however, one of the realities of practice, particularly in large firms, which both need and can accommodate specific expertise and concentrations on particular types of work.¹⁴ Specialisation is also, according to Blair-Loy, one strategy available for women negotiating the gendered nature of relationships in the business world.¹⁵ Blair-Loy's finding can be extended to the gendered relationships in the male-dominated construction industry, since, in this study, the majority of those interviewed in Cohorts Three and Four who were specialised were women. Moreover, some interviewees thought that specialising was a useful career move for women because it enabled them "to add value to the project team" (F60•T2•3), rather than be "just another project architect" whose skills might not be current after taking time off to care for children:

I think if there's a way back in [after children], it's actually to find a place that you're not competing with just the general people. (M11•T1•4a)

For some, specialisation, and the added value that came with it, meant the ability to continue working in architecture:

I hate to think what my career would be like if I hadn't [specialised]. I probably wouldn't still be in architecture! (F18•T2•4c)

For one woman, her move to specialisation was in direct response to a high level of competition:

There was a limited number of people that he [Tier 1 owner] would trust to carry the design of projects, and I think to try and break into that group, you kind of had to have a fairly high level of confidence and determination. It's not that I don't think I had it, I think I just saw that the [specialised role] was probably a much more—what's the word?—I could probably concentrate on that and have less, kind of, conflict is probably too strong a word, but, you know, I'd be able to be a little bit more control of my destiny. (F323•T2•3)

For this interviewee, autonomy was gained through specialisation. The importance of confidence that she noted was repeated by others, with one also considering the loss of a particular kind of confidence especially driving specialisation:

¹³ Judith R. Blau, *Architects and Firms: A Sociological Perspective on Architectural Practice* (Cambridge, MA; London: MIT Press, 1984), 141.

¹⁴ Cuff, *Architecture*, 140.

¹⁵ Blair-Loy, "It's Not Just What You Know," 74. Other strategies include emphasising femininity or female sexuality, and acting like 'one of the guys.' The specialisation strategy is also noted (and advised) by Joan Williams and Rachel Dempsey, *What Works for Women at Work: Four Patterns Working Women Need to Know* (New York: New York University Press, 2014), 53.

It's very easy to lose confidence about your design abilities. And there are so many other things to become competent in, so a lot of people move into those areas. (F25•T2•3)

Andrew Dainty et al, and Elin Kvande and Bente Rasmussen reported high levels of competition for a limited number of good roles in construction organisations, noting that this caused men to invoke gender stereotypes and question women's ability in order to remove them from the running.¹⁶ In this study, not only did women interviewees have their technical competence questioned,¹⁷ but also doubt is easily cast on an individual's professional competence by others questioning the most culturally valued and hence highest status quality in architecture: design ability. Given that what constitutes 'good design' is both regularly contested and subjective,¹⁸ such ability is easily challenged:

My crises are always not to do with how much I enjoy it—because I love it—but how... whether I'm doing the right thing. I feel I'm not good enough at it. That whole thing... (F45•T4•4a)

Design is *so* subjective. (F10•T4•3)

It's hard where it's design because it's *always* your opinion. Like, if you're promoting yourself on: "Look at this great design idea!" Well, someone might say: "Well I think it's bloody horrible!" And who's right? (F33•T4•3)

The fragility of confidence in design ability was mentioned by a number of women but not by men (although this may be a consequence of the interviewer being female). Erin Cech et al argue that professional role identity includes expertise confidence, which is the ability "to wield the competencies and skills required of practice."¹⁹ In architecture, competencies around design are highly uncertain and design judgement is always vulnerable to negative critique, which meant that, for some interviewees, the role of the designer had become less attractive.

Another consequence of specialisation might be ceasing design work, even in a broad sense (although still working in an architectural office), particularly if the specialisation was practice

¹⁶ Andrew R. J. Dainty, Barbara M. Bagilhole, and Richard H. Neale, "A Grounded Theory of Women's Career Underachievement in Large UK Construction Companies," *Construction Management and Economics* 18, no. 2 (2000): 248; Elin Kvande and Bente Rasmussen, "Men in Male-Dominated Organizations and Their Encounter with Women Intruders," *Scandinavian Journal of Management* 10, no. 2 (1994): 166.

¹⁷ Also reported by Katherine Sang, Andrew Dainty, and Stephen Ison, "Gender in the UK Architectural Profession: (Re)Producing and Challenging Hegemonic Masculinity," *Work, Employment & Society* 28, no. 2 (2014): 10; Caven, Navarro-Astor, and Diop, "A Cross-National Study," 370, 372.

¹⁸ Magali Sarfatti Larson, *Behind the Postmodern Facade: Architectural Change in Late Twentieth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 5; Blau, *Architects and Firms*, 134; Dana Cuff and John Wriedt, *Architecture from the Outside In: Selected Essays by Robert Gutman* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2010), 35.

¹⁹ Erin Cech, Brian Rubineau, Susan Silbey, and Caroll Seron, "Professional Role Confidence and Gendered Persistence in Engineering," *American Sociological Review* 76, no. 5 (2011): 642.

management. The studied firms all had practice managers, all of whom were architects, and all but one were women. Other specialisations focussed on aspects of a project type or phase, such as health planning, specifications, learning environments, heritage conservation, and briefing. These connect to projects at particular times, but not as project leader:

It was a big decision because I'd put so much into training and studying to become an architect. [But] within architecture, I think I found my own path, and I've been quite happy in it.
(F25•T2•3)

I've become very specialised. So it's rather than moving up the food chain, I've kept on a little niche. (F09•T3•4c)

As this statement observes, and depending on the niche, specialisation might lessen an individual's ability to attain a top-tier position (Tier 1 or 2). If women are more inclined to specialise, then this might contribute to their overall pattern of constricted advancement visible across the profession, as observed in Chapter 2 and in the studied firms in Table 4-2.

Reconciliation with the Workplace

Reconciling with the work of architecture also required individuals to reconcile with their position in a particular workplace. For those interviewed in Cohort Three, this involved a noticeable shift in attitudes towards promotion and titles from the previous cohort. Once again, those who were unhappy and unable to reconcile their position and title would often leave.

Becoming Titled

Table 7-1 shows the change in titles of those in this cohort in the firms from 2012 to 2014.

Table 7-1: Cohort Three Formal Titles Achieved, 2012–2014

Cohort Three	2012				2014			
	Women	Men	Total	% women	Women	Men	Total	% women
Total Numbers	18	33	51	33%				
Tier 1 – Director/Principal	-	1	1	0%	-	2	2	0%
Tier 2 – Sub-director	3	10	13	23%	3	12	15	20%
Tier 3 – Associate	4	8	12	33%	6	9	15	40%
Titled	7	19	26	27%	9	23	32	28%
% of cohort with titles	29%	58%	51%					

Source: Data derived from information supplied by participating architecture firms and their websites.

Nine in this cohort were promoted, only two of whom were women (to Tier 3). Three men were promoted to each of Tiers 3 and 2, and one to Tier 1. Once again, women had little problem reaching Tier 3, but the barrier for women to Tiers 1 and 2 visible in Table 4-2, and observed for Cohort Two, remained intact over this period for Cohort Three. In addition, in 2012, eight in this cohort had been with the firms for less than two years. By 2014, four of the six men in this position had been promoted, and one man had left. Neither of the women was promoted (both worked full time).

The dynamics underlying such movements was pondered by one male interviewee, who said:

So the women who do come back [from maternity leave] tend to be engaged in parts (like practice management), or components of projects (like briefing), that are discreet elements, rather than project leadership, which is typically the way of moving forward in terms of promotion. [...] There just aren't the women with the experience, or they just don't seem to be around to accept these promotions. (M22•T2•3)

Project leadership in this statement is identified as the route to advancement, but this interviewee also argues that there is a lack of female candidates. Of the eighteen women in this cohort, nearly half were working part time, which might mean they “were not around.” However, of the nine women who were (or became) Tier 2 across all cohorts, six were employed part time at the time of their promotion, which means that this was not necessarily a barrier in the studied firms. Consequently, some women articulated their own suspicions of bias around promotion:

You can't really escape the feeling that to get to the top, you have to have a measurable amount of self-serving, self-interest, self-promotion. [...] Men just tend to be better at self-promotion that doesn't end up looking necessarily like it. (F33•T4•3)

The need for self-promotion has been identified in career research as an important impression-management tactic, but it is one that Val Singh et al argue women are more reluctant to use, as it tends to have negative meanings and consequences for them.²⁰ In particular, Laurie Rudman demonstrates that the use of self-promotion by women can risk social reprisal.²¹ For this reason, Christine Williams et al describe it as an ostensibly gender-neutral requirement that actually discriminates against women.²² This kind of subtle expectation in the interaction dimension sets up

²⁰ Page 94 of this thesis. Also Val Singh, Savita Kumra, and Susan Vinnicombe, “Gender and Impression Management: Playing the Promotion Game,” *Journal of Business Ethics* 37, no. 1 (2002): 78.

²¹ Laurie A. Rudman, “Self-Promotion as a Risk Factor for Women: The Costs and Benefits of Counterstereotypical Impression Management,” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 74, no. 3 (1998).

²² Christine L. Williams, Chandra Muller, and Kristine Kilanski, “Gendered Organizations in the New Economy,” *Gender & Society* 26, no. 4 (2012): 560.

the gendered substructure of a profession. Moreover, the perception that the rules of promotion were different for women—and their actions viewed differently—describes the covert or unconscious nature of second-generation bias.²³ This was observed by a number of women interviewed:

Sometimes I do feel that it's harder for women to move up. I just can't quite put my finger on what it is. [...] It's not *that* obvious. Everything is a little bit underlying these days, because no one ever... because it's actually un-PC to say things like that. (F10•T4•3)

While the men also considered the promotion process to be obscure, they did not see bias as contributing to that obscurity, but spoke often of subjective criteria, such as likeability:

[Tier 1s] work with the people they like to work with and people they know. I think that's inevitable really, and that's fair enough too. [...] I don't think that's surprising or sinister. (M70•T3•3)

There is an issue if a [Tier 1] doesn't like a person, they won't promote them, which is probably fair enough. No, I don't think there is any bias. (M22•T2•3)

However, homosociality, the preference for members of one's own sex, discussed in Chapter 3,²⁴ means that declarations of like and dislike can easily (although not necessarily) be based on gender. One male interviewee (M14•T3•3) thought that difficulties liaising with men on site might disadvantage women's promotion chances because they would drop out of those roles, creating a cycle of diminished possibilities. He concluded that "things tend to favour men ever so slightly." But it is these slight advantages that can accumulate over time, as Virginia Valian argues, to slow women's advancement.²⁵ Not all women abdicated from such roles, but those who did might lessen their chances of advancement.

So High and No Further

Most of the interviewees in this cohort also understood that movement in the firms was ultimately restricted due to their structure—in other words, that there would be a ceiling:

There will be a time when you will realise you won't be going any higher [...] because there's not enough room at the top for everyone. (M46•T5•3)

²³ Page 77 of this thesis.

²⁴ Page 88 of this thesis.

²⁵ Virginia Valian, "Beyond Gender Schemas: Improving the Advancement of Women in Academia," *Hypatia* 20, no. 3 (2005): 204.

I think most people realise by the forty-ish age whether you're going to go to the next level or whether you're just stuck. (M05•T2•4a)

The ambivalence towards titles expressed (although not always convincingly) in Cohort Two had largely disappeared for those in this cohort. Although ambition was still expressed for projects, the value of a title as a signifier of experience and commander of respect was widely acknowledged, especially by women:

I think [a title is important] and it probably is more important as a female. I think there is a difference in being able to be part of [this office] with a title. (F18•T2•4c)

It would be helpful if you're sending e-mails out to people that you start working with, that it's clear that you're a senior person in the company. (F27•T4•3)

It might help me get a bit further with clients if I had a higher title. [...] Especially when people just look at your card and look at your title and sort of make an assumption about your ability. (F10•T4•3)

Once you're given a title [...] it tends to mean that... well, you're not just nobody! (F23•T2•4b)

Titles conferred respect, which these older women appeared to appreciate, and even to need, more than the men interviewed. While the untitled sought promotion, those with titles were sometimes defensive, wanting to keep their numbers small to retain status:

We get a lot of backlash from staff who *have* been promoted. [...] It's the [Tier 1 owners] who are leaning towards more promotions and the [Tier 3s] and [Tier 2s] wanting a small group... they think it becomes devalued if you promote too many. (F25•T2•3)

If promotions continue and no one leaves, then "there's quite a lot of us sort of crunching in there at the top" (F64•T2•4a). Consequently, managers spoke of the difficulty of dealing with the expectations of senior staff.

There is an issue that there's only so many people that can be [Tier 1] at any one time. And what do you do with all these good [Tier 2s] that you want to keep? How do you retain them, if they've got nothing to kind of aspire to? (F926•T1•3)

Frustration with lack of advancement sometimes led to 'difficult to manage' behaviour by those in this cohort, which affected interactions with their peers and supervisors. This was observed in both women and men, but, with women, it was presumed to be compounded either by regret around not having children, or the delay to their career from having them:

Whilst I am generalising, women become more difficult later in their career because [...] they’ve had children, they have come back in, and they are frustrated that males who have continued to work have more senior positions than they do.²⁶

He’d been working in the industry for more than ten years, but he was sort of stuck at that mid-level role. And he went through a period of being quite rude to [Tier 1s] as well as his project leader.

[A friend of mine] didn’t have a family, so all her life was towards her career. And then when you don’t see your career [...] happening either, you would be very disappointed, of course. So she was quite, quite unhappy.

The woman the interviewee described in this final quote above was made redundant from the firm where she worked because, in the opinion of the interviewee, she had become ‘negative’ about her work. Those who are ‘unhappy’ might also leave of their own accord.

Leaving a Firm

In contrast to Cohorts One and Two, a greater proportion of women than men in Cohort Three left over the 2012–2014 period (Figure 4-4 and Table 7-2). The majority of the leavers had no formal title; however, there was a marked gender difference observed. One-third of the men who left had a title, but just one of the six women had one. This discrepancy was repeated for Cohort Four (Table 8-2), with three-quarters of the leaving men (six out of eight) having a title and none of the three women having one. From this, it would seem that once a woman secures a formal title, she tends to stay at her firm. As noted for the previous cohort, staying in a firm disrupts the circuit of women needing to begin again to prove themselves.²⁷

Table 7-2: Staff Movement Cohort Three, 2012–2014

Cohort Three	2012				2014			
	Women	Men	Total	% women	Women	Men	Total	% women
Total Numbers 2012	18	33	51	35%				
			Left by 2014		6	9	15	40%
			% of staff leaving		33%	27%	29%	

Source: Data derived from information supplied by participating architecture firms and their websites.

In Cohort Two, the reasons cited for people leaving firms included the search for better ‘work-fit’ and better projects; in this cohort, there was some acknowledgement that moving may not always be a useful career move:

²⁶ Interviewees in this segment not identified to ensure anonymity.

²⁷ Page 161 of this thesis.

I have friends who—anytime they don’t like what they’re doing—quit, and start somewhere else. I think they just find, you know, there’s issues in every workplace, there’s issues in every career, and they just swap one set of issues for another. (M70•T3•3)

Bias against women was reported as resulting in women leaving some firms. One male interviewee thought such biases manifested *outside* of the architectural office, but “not in the office—in the office, you’re just as equal” (M14•T3•3). However, some of the women interviewed countered this assertion, and described experiences and situations where biased attitudes from work colleagues were clear:

I had a particular guy who, when I had to ask him questions [...], he was nice as, you know; really helpful. But when I had to run a section of a project [...], he became very difficult to work with. He became really uncooperative and made very nasty comments. (F10•T4•3)

Competition is typically the reason for such comments, and gender adds another dimension. An individual’s relationship with the Tier 1 had a major impact on the ability to remain in an office:

[A previous] office was almost entirely men, and I think that was because the [Tier 1] had a problem with girls. [...] I think because he liked to shout at people and he didn’t feel comfortable shouting at girls... [laughs] That was my only theory on it.²⁸

The last interviewee’s ‘theory’ for the lack of women in that other office was only partly a joke. It was a difficult workplace that he had left because, he confessed: “to be honest, I couldn’t work there any longer. After eight years, I was going mental.” Both women and men across all cohorts described their reason for leaving difficult and demanding previous workplaces as not being able “to do it anymore.” However, there are additional sources of stress for women in architecture. Katherine Sang et al document higher levels of occupational stress for female architects in the UK.²⁹ This was also reported by a number of women interviewees in this study.

When you’re in a predominantly male-based profession [...] showing weakness... you’ve got to hide it... And you just can’t keep going ad infinitum. Everything compounds, you end up being in a really bad place sometimes. (F520•T4•4a)

One woman thought “burnt-out is normal.” Burn-out can be a result of needing to constantly prove capability.³⁰ Such conditions might propel women to leave the profession altogether.

²⁸ Interviewee not identified to ensure anonymity.

²⁹ Katherine J. C. Sang, Andrew R. J. Dainty, and Stephen G. Ison, “Gender: A Risk Factor for Occupational Stress in the Architectural Profession?” *Construction Management and Economics* 25, no. 12 (2007): 1315.

³⁰ Williams and Dempsey, *What Works for Women at Work*, 49.

Leaving Architecture

Some in Cohort Two spoke of leaving for careers outside of the profession due to difficult conditions, including poor pay. Those in Cohort Three were at a stage of life where mortgages and parenthood increased demands on income. Most of those interviewed thought pay levels were too low relative to other professionals with similar qualification demands, and to others in the construction industry:

Compared to other professions, the education that you do, the long hours that you do, the really hard work that you have to do—proportionally, the pay and rewards that you get... it's really not a great profession. (M04•T3•3)

[An architect friend] ended up going and working for one of her clients [...] and have them pay her a lot more money for doing the same work that she was doing for the architecture firm anyway. (M05•T2•4a)

Another concern frequently articulated by this cohort that affected satisfaction levels was the changing nature of practice, particularly the perceived diminishing role and status of the architect. This shifting structural condition was pithily described by one interviewee as “We’re subbies in suits!” (M14•T3•3):

I think there is a lack of understanding about what architects do. So they think, “Oh, it’s just a drawing. That’s easy, you can do that. Why are you charging me so much for something like that?” (F926•T1•3)

They think it’s cool, but they don’t think it’s worth money. It’s not *worth* in the real world. There’s a coolness element, but that’s it. (F23•T2•4b)

According to Howard Gardner, loss of public respect for professionals is a growing feature of professions in the twenty-first century.³¹ This is intensified in architecture by the increasingly demoted role of the architect within the contemporary construction industry.³² Antagonism between architects and others involved in construction has been recorded for many years, and was discussed in Chapter 3.³³ This is currently exacerbated in Australia by different forms of procurement—particularly for larger projects—which are shifting architects out of their preferred role of directing

³¹ Howard Gardner, “Compromised Work,” *Daedalus* 134, no. 3 (2005). He cites cases in law, journalism and accounting (e.g., Enron crisis).

³² Noted for the UK by Katherine J. C. Sang, Stephen G. Ison, and Andrew R. J. Dainty, “The Job Satisfaction of UK Architects and Relationships with Work–Life Balance and Turnover Intentions,” *Engineering, Construction and Architectural Management* 16, no. 3 (2009): 290.

³³ Page 75 of this thesis. Also Andrew Saint, *Architect and Engineer: A Study in Sibling Rivalry* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007).

the process to one where they have little power.³⁴ Caven and Diop also discuss the erosion of the traditional rewards of being a professional for architects: namely, professional power, status and recognition.³⁵ Such erosion was also observed by interviewees in this study:

Architects can be slaves actually, in some sense, because... architects have a lot less power over the whole building process. So, contractually, we could be put into a position where we have to satisfy the [project] manager's wishes, basically. (M04•T3•3)

One female interviewee thought that women are becoming accepted into the profession at the same time as it is “*seriously struggling*” (F10•T4•3). The coinciding of increased numbers of women in a profession with decreased status has been observed in other professions.³⁶ However, although there is an impression that the entry of women *causes* status decline, the factors appear to be more complex than this, due to far more wide-ranging economic and political contexts.³⁷ This is particularly so in architecture because of the profession's close dependency on these economic and social contexts.³⁸

The forces that might push people out of the profession are countered by intrinsic rewards involved in architecture work. The single largest factor impinging on the kind of work women do—and therefore the kind of intrinsic rewards they might experience—revealed in this study is motherhood.

Reconciling Parenthood

Many in this cohort were parents, but the complications of parenthood weighed most heavily on the women (just as in other occupations). Joan Williams argues that motherhood is a further and powerful trigger for gender-based stereotypes—mothers are perceived as more ‘feminine,’ and therefore both less competent and less committed.³⁹ Bryan McIntosh et al find that “motherhood results in the devaluation of women's abilities, a denial of opportunity and a penalisation in respect to careers.”⁴⁰ All of these observations were reported by the interviewees, one of whom summed them up as: “Things that you don't notice until you start to have children” (F50•T3•4a).

³⁴ Also noted in the UK by Cohen et al., “Remember I'm the Bloody Architect!” 777.

³⁵ Caven and Diop, “Architecture: A ‘Rewarding’ Career?” 513.

³⁶ Reskin and Ross cited in Blair-Loy, “It's Not Just What You Know,” 54.

³⁷ Sharon Bolton and Daniel Muzio, “The Paradoxical Processes of Feminization in the Professions: The Case of Established, Aspiring and Semi-Professions,” *Work, Employment & Society* 22, no. 2 (2008): 288; Blair-Loy, “It's Not Just What You Know,” 54; and Dorothy Cantor cited in Amy Cynkar, “The Changing Gender Composition of Psychology,” *Monitor on Psychology: A Publication of the American Psychological Association* 38, no. 6 (2007), <http://www.apa.org/monitor/jun07/changing.aspx>.

³⁸ Page 75 of this thesis

³⁹ Williams and Dempsey, *What Works for Women at Work*, 134.

⁴⁰ Bryan McIntosh, Ronald McQuaid, Anne Munro, and Parviz Dabir-Alai, “Motherhood and Its Impact on Career Progression,” *Gender in Management: An International Journal* 27, no. 5 (2012): 356.

One of the more prominent “things” that became noticeable was the expectation of working part time, and how this was generally conceived as antithetical to ‘being’ an architect. The experiences of being a working mother, and the career impact of motherhood, are also discussed in this section.

Part-Time Architect Equals Less of an Architect

Those in previous cohorts articulated the impossibility of being in a position of responsibility in architecture while working on a part-time basis. Those in this cohort mostly repeated that assessment. The need to work full time was argued as being due to the unpredictability and indeterminacy of architecture—one interviewee described it as “the inherently unstable nature of architecture” (M37•T2•4b). This instability included structural and cultural dimensions:

There are things popping up at any moment, basically, that you have to respond to. (M52•T3•4a)

Working two or three days a week, it’s just impossible for you to take on the project-leader role because there’s consultant coordination, there’s client coordination, there’s internal team communication, internal politics... All of that stuff that takes you the full week to get through. (M22•T2•3)

While internal and external demands exert pressure on architects to work full time, most interviewees emphasised the demands of people and institutions external to the architecture office:

The main problems are project logistics and that’s not something that we can necessarily control. We can’t control the demands of clients or the norms of the industry. [...] Builders, in particular [...], don’t have any sympathy whatsoever for working women and the fact that they might not be available on Tuesday to come to a meeting. (M41•T1•4c)

I think that if you’re having client interface, the client *has* to know that you’re available. (F03•T4•4a)

We just got a client off [another firm]. He rang to talk to the person about his project and was told that they work part time and wouldn’t be able to get back to him until next week. He was not happy and is now with us. (M217•T2•4a)

This last comment was made in the context of a presentation, where one person called the firm’s response “sheer mismanagement,” since the client only needed to be told the person in question was currently unavailable. Accordingly, some of the interviewed women working part time did not inform clients of their restricted availability, relying on technology to maintain cover.

Additional pressure comes from tight, often non-negotiable, deadlines set by clients and the construction industry. “You know, we’ve got clients that just have the most *ridiculous* [time] expectations!” (F32•T1•4a). Some firms and project leaders were better at this negotiation and at internal planning for deadlines, and so this pressure was felt variably among interviewees.

Me not being present [at meetings because of being employed part time] is not a problem if, you know, there’s a briefing process. But that didn’t happen either. [...] It was very frustrating; it looked like I was completely incapable, but it was just [that] the process was not good.
(F51•T5•3)

The uncertain process of design also exerted strong time pressures. Cuff describes this process as one of perpetual discovery since, because architecture deals with multiple and conflicting parameters that change, one change impacts all other decisions.⁴¹ Graham Winch and Eric Schneider call it a process with “inherently high levels of task uncertainty.”⁴² Interviewees observed such uncertainty, particularly its effects on presence and time in the office:

The design thing happens five days a week and it happens because of this meeting and that, and it adapts—especially on larger projects. In those two days you’re not there, you could have something completely new by the next day. You know, it’s sort of the speed of the thing.
(M11•T1•4a)

Something will come up that nobody’s thought of and it means that the deadline gets blown out. Or you have to work really hard to try and make sure that the deadline doesn’t get blown out.
(M67•T3•3)

You get your great idea at the eleventh hour. (F19•T2•3)

Rosabeth Kanter suggests that uncertainty can trigger gender exclusion.⁴³ Here, the uncertainty of the design process compels long hours, which ultimately disadvantage those unable to work them, predominantly women. In addition, the instability of what constitutes good design means design, as a process, is never-ending as people continue to work to try to achieve the best outcome:

Design, essentially, is never finished, [...] so, as an architect, you just push and push and push and push and keep on working. Whether it’s an overall design solution or whether it’s a resolution of a detail, there’s never a right solution. (F32•T1•4a)

⁴¹ Cuff, *Architecture*, 92.

⁴² Graham Winch and Eric Schneider, “Managing the Knowledge-Based Organization: The Case Study of Architectural Practice,” *Journal of Management Studies* 30, no. 6 (1993): 927.

⁴³ Page 73 of this thesis.

The work of architecture cannot be done flexibly because architecture itself is highly flexible, because things can always be improved, done better, detailed better. (M410•T4•3)

Architecture is all about time. You can't be more efficient, you know; there's only a certain level of efficiency. If you change things [to make them better], it takes time. (M46•T5•3)

Combined with internal and external structural pressures, this self-imposed pressure constructed the ideal architect as not just working full time, but also having the flexibility and ability to work long hours. This need for flexibility was considered to be inevitable and generally fully internalised as a necessary part of being an architect:

It's just not the job where you can leave on the dot every day or arrive on the dot. [...] It is just a fallacy to say you can have a responsible role in a demanding, unpredictable process within a set period of time. It is just impossible! (M37•T2•4b)

However, there were some who resisted the construction of the ideal project leader as necessarily working more than full-time hours. One firm identified parts of the role that were not just possible, but more efficient when executed part time. They had assigned someone working a three-and-a-half-day week to lead projects through contract administration where the fees were tight:

It required somebody that worked only part time on it. And to make sure that you only work part time on it, it's actually good if you're only part time in the office, otherwise you end up probably spending more time than you should. (F27•T4•3)

This meant, however, breaking the notion of the individual architect leading a project through all its phases and, consequently, potentially fracturing ownership. However, most in this cohort understood that the concept of ownership—particularly for large projects in large practices—was illusory. Another interviewee, who was adamant that the project-leader role demanded long hours and total commitment, shifted her view over the course of the interview. First, she described her own experience:

When I was a project architect running teams, I was the last one to leave each day. [...] I wouldn't feel comfortable setting the team on a task and a deadline and not being there with them.⁴⁴

She then admitted that, at that time, no one in the office had had family responsibilities and the role had therefore been modelled in this way. In thinking about this some more, she realised that currently:

⁴⁴ Interviewee not identified to ensure anonymity.

A lot of our [Tier 3s and 2s] who are male have some form of caring responsibility. [...] They've done the hard yards and they don't necessarily feel like they have to be here 'til [late] every night.

Having done the “hard yards” and adhering to the long-hours model previously, these men were currently managing their projects and teams without the extremes of late and long hours. One Tier 2 man interviewed, who led teams of up to fifteen people, said he worked nine-to-six with little variation. Another Tier 2 man worked a four-and-a-half-day week and still maintained leadership of a number of teams and projects. A Tier 2 woman was, likewise, running a series of projects on a four-day week. To some extent, this depended on the firm, the kind of projects, the fees negotiated, as well as the firm's acceptance of such hours. Furthermore, this was highly variable in the firms the interviewees had previously worked for. It was also individual, dependent on how much someone had internalised the identity of the ideal project-leader as someone willing and able to work more than full time, or if they had developed a different conception that incorporated efficient ways of working.

Even for those interviewees who were not project leaders, the inability to work extended hours due to being a parent could be problematic.⁴⁵ One woman spoke of the difficulty of leading a project with a woman on the team who, although working full time, was unable to work late because she had a child. Others spoke of the pressures this placed on the rest of the team:

She *has* to leave every day at five o'clock. It's been a real issue for me because I'm left to pick up the pieces. That is a terrible thing to say, but that is the truth! [...] [Because] you *have* to meet the deadlines and if it means working late—you do it.⁴⁶

We just expect you to be working in a team. So, if you're going to be absolutely by the book about your [hours]—that's difficult. (F25•T2•3)

When you have got a team of six people and you walk out at five o'clock and all of them are there until seven... there's a lot of... invisible sort of pressure. (M46•T5•3)

One man described his desire to move to part-time work—so that his wife could continue her career—meeting general societal resistance and disapproval.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Blair-Loy also observed this in a study of finance executives; Mary Blair-Loy, “Work Devotion and Work Time,” in *Fighting for Time: Shifting Boundaries of Work and Social Life*, ed. Cynthia Fuchs Epstein and Arne L. Kalleberg (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2004), 310.

⁴⁶ Interviewee not identified to ensure anonymity.

⁴⁷ Page 71 of this thesis.

I think it's actually quite difficult to share [child care] jointly, because it's not as acceptable for a male to cut back on hours. [...] [Women] are allowed to do it, whereas with a male...
(M05•T2•4a)

Although this male interviewee secured a position where he could work the hours he wished, Sang et al found that male architects who had caring responsibilities had problems continuing in the profession in the UK, in the same way as women did.⁴⁸ The interviewee above had been promoted to Tier 2 while working the shorter week (as had some women, noted earlier). Once again, the ability to advance in a career in this situation is highly dependent on the culture and practice of the firm, and the structural and cultural reasons outlined above were frequently cited reasons for why it was not possible.

Although the changeability of a project and the need to be flexible was strongly argued in the case for working extended hours, others found that working part time improved their work habits and motivation. This was also observed by senior managers:

I actually really enjoy not working that extra day. I have done a few five-day-weeks now and, wow, it's so hard to motivate yourself for the whole week! (M46•T5•3)

It's actually quite liberating to leave at four-thirty, because you go: hang on, I'm managing to work in this profession without working stupid hours! (F33•T4•3)

As with other occupations, it was women who felt the brunt of the structural and cultural imperatives dictating against part-time work—and the inferiority and sometimes impossibility of such roles. In this cohort, only one man was working part time. But beyond the hours worked per week, there were other aspects to being a parent that the interviewees in Cohort Three noted. These are discussed in the next section.

Working Mothers

The common trajectory for women with children was to take up to a year's maternity leave, followed by a return to work on a part-time basis, and then, for some, an eventual progression back to full-time work. All the firms' employment policies stipulated that a three-day-week was the minimum. One woman, however, was able to circumvent that minimum, starting back one day a week and gradually building up, over a period of five years, to full time.

⁴⁸ Sang, Dainty, and Ison, "Gender in the UK Architectural Profession," 8.

I was lucky that... the practice could accommodate my desire to pick up extra work.⁴⁹

This exception was not luck; it was clear from her position in the firm that she was a highly valued staff member and so the firm was willing to accommodate her. She was able to draw on having proved herself prior to maternity leave. The last chapter discussed the importance for women of proving themselves; at the onset of maternity, this became critical. Other women interviewees spoke of the high importance of having established their value and capability prior to maternity leave, as well as having a good relationship with senior staff in a firm. One manager explained:

With women who go on maternity leave... to be honest, there are some cases where... I think ones who are very high performers, we absolutely would work to get them back. If they're just sort of middling performers, maybe not try so hard.⁵⁰

The bar for performance was set "very high" in this comment, and perceptions of performance are seldom without elements of gender bias, as has been repeatedly observed in this thesis. This will be discussed further in Chapter 9.

As with Cohort Two, some of the women working part time in Cohort Three were sometimes assigned less-demanding work. Such experiences had the ability to dent professional role confidence and diminish self-perception of being a 'real' architect.⁵¹

It might sound silly, but some of the work I'm doing now is stupid. It has to be done for the project and done well. But, really, it's well below what I'm capable of doing. (F730•T3•3)

I think because architecture's all about confidence at so many points, I think if you're out of it for a while, you start feeling very nervous about coming back to work. And then you think, "Oh, maybe I'll have to do something else." (F45•T4•4a)

Therefore, the management of the return of women from maternity leave made a considerable difference, and some firms and project leaders were better than others. One woman worked from home when her baby was young for up to sixty hours a week in order to keep up with the team:

It was really stressful. And I did get to the point where I sort of said, "I can't do this anymore." And the comment back was—yeah, atrocious—"Don't you know, everyone in the office resents you!" [because she was able to work from home]⁵²

⁴⁹ Interviewee not identified to ensure anonymity.

⁵⁰ Interviewee not identified to ensure anonymity.

⁵¹ Cech et al., "Professional Role Confidence," 642.

Another woman spoke of being expected to produce five days' worth of work in three. While the delegation of less-demanding work was often not appreciated by women returning from maternity leave, the converse expectation of business-as-usual was also highly stressful. One interviewee (F03•T4•4a) thought that each woman needed to work out strategies for their return, because individual firms often defaulted to solutions that might not be appropriate. Another woman interviewee had an exit meeting prior to maternity leave and agreed to specific terms, including an assurance she would be given work suitable to her level. For her, maternity leave was:

A stepping back, I think, and reassessing what's going on at work, what are you happy with, what aren't you happy with. And you're not completely embroiled in what's going on in a project and all the stresses and things. (F42•T3•3)

Elizabeth Cabrera notes that maternity leave can be an opportunity for women to explore what is important to them.⁵³ For some, this 'time out' results in a recalibration of their career and may result in rejecting continued employment in their current position, and instead pursuing other opportunities:

Once I am part time, taxed, and I am paying for day care, I'm going to say: I'm not sure why I am doing this. I'm working my guts out doing these toilet schedules. Why am I doing this? (F03•T4•4a)

As noted in Chapter 5, "doing toilet schedules" is a task for junior staff.⁵⁴ Consequently, economically and professionally some women found it not viable to return. In addition, a number of women reported feeling devalued because they worked part time:

You also feel very on the back foot and you don't bother asking for more money or anything else. (F23•T2•4b)

You're only 60% of a person because you're only here three days a week. (F520•T4•4a)

For other women, regardless of these deterrents, the desire to return to work was strong:

I think those first couple of years, pretty much, I was paying a lot of childcare to come to work and there wasn't a major financial benefit in returning to work. So, it was more driven from a need for me to keep in touch and be in another environment. (F60•T2•3)

⁵² Interviewee not identified to ensure anonymity.

⁵³ Elizabeth F. Cabrera, "Opting Out and Opting In: Understanding the Complexities of Women's Career Transitions," *Career Development International* 12, no. 3 (2007): 233.

⁵⁴ Page 135 of this thesis.

Another woman (F134•T4•3) spoke of being a better mother because she was not with her children full time. Work gave her a life beyond the family, which, she argued, was stronger for it. Partner support and contribution to childcare were variable, and clearly made a difference:

Together we try and make it work, whereas if you were doing it all on your own—which is what a lot of women have to do—I just don’t know how you can do it. [...] My husband’s always... he doesn’t want to miss out on his children—even the bad, even the sicknesses. (F42•T3•3)

It’s frustrating for us when we have people who are talented and with great potential, but they have, as a female, taken on this traditional role of being the one who does everything, and they can’t realise their potential in architecture because of that. [...] They’re ultimately frustrated by their own family constraints. (M37•T2•4b)

In contrast, this last interviewee spoke of the arrangement that he and his architect wife had worked out, with one taking the morning and the other the afternoon shift of childcare in order to provide flexibility for working longer hours when needed. Another architect couple found this kind of juggle difficult:

If we’ve got deadlines, which we’ve recently both had, I think we did mutually find it difficult and disagreeable—swapping house keys at the front door. (M21•T2•4b)

One man described a situation when a sudden shift in the project caused a late night at one firm where he had worked:

[The boss] came out of a meeting at quarter to five one day and said “All of this has to be done now before you can all go home!” [...] It was hours and hours of work. And he said “I’m sorry if that interferes with your social life.” And then this man piped up and he said “if you mean by my *social life* collecting my son from his mother’s, taking him home, and giving him a meal, and doing his homework with him, and putting him to bed—then it does interfere with it and I’m going to do it!” And he just stormed out. And it was good that a man said that too, you know, because some [people] think that having a family is somehow the woman’s issue, and I don’t think that’s the case. (M70•T3•3)

While this man thought childcare was not just a woman’s responsibility, in general, the women interviewees stated that the flexibility required for families would be their responsibility:

In terms of my progression, I felt that in order to get to the next step I would have to take more, larger projects. At the same time, my partner’s job was doing the same thing, and someone had to have the ‘give’ for the kids, so I took the role of having the flexibility for the children. (F03•T4•4a)

Attaining that flexibility usually meant different kinds of work, which, as noted above and discussed below, was limiting for career advancement.

The Career Impact

The generally negative attitude towards part-time work and working mothers detailed in the previous two sections had an inevitable impact on the career advancement for the women interviewed:

I would have described myself ambitious at one point, but once you have kids, you sort of have to work out whether you're ambitious or you're going to be a half-decent parent. Because... the way society is set up, it's not set up for women to work and also be anywhere near their kids. (F23•T2•4b)

One woman, when seeking work at another firm, was told by the woman interviewing her that if she wanted to get ahead, she should have no parenting responsibilities “full-stop!” For most, although not all, of the women, motherhood meant working part time and/or in less-demanding roles, both of which tended to constrict career progression. One described her career taking “a curveball when I had children.” Paula Whitman’s survey found women who declined senior roles more frequently stated different career aspirations for this decision, rather than “interference with family commitments.”⁵⁵ However, the female interviewees in Cohort Three described deliberately curtailing their work prospects because of family role conflicts, a phenomenon noted in much career research reported by Deborah O’Neil et al.⁵⁶ This ‘juggle’ was described by numerous mothers among the interviewees:

At the moment, I feel like I’m just balancing or juggling it sort of the right amount. [...] I couldn’t run a huge project—I can’t. I don’t have time. I don’t have the energy. I think I don’t have the desire to do that. I have more... I *need* to be with the kids. (F42•T3•3)

I am not pushing any promotion because I don’t want to have the pressure to deliver because that’s something that keeps you up at night. [...] It sounds wrong, but I have got my priority at home. I take my job very seriously and I really enjoy what I am doing... But since I have got a child, you know, I am responsible for him and I want him to be happy, so I have to limit the time that I can put in. [...] I want to leave at five o’clock and be able to sleep at night. (F51•T5•3)

⁵⁵ Paula Whitman, *Going Places: The Career Progression of Women in the Architectural Profession* (Brisbane: Queensland University of Technology, 2005), 10. Surveyed men also declined such roles but were unclear about their reasons; *The Career Progression of Men in Architecture* (Melbourne: Royal Australian Institute of Architects, 2007), 8, http://archiparlour.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/The_Career_Progression_of_Men_in_Architecture.pdf. These answers may have been prompted by the format of the survey question, which allowed multiple answers.

⁵⁶ Deborah A. O’Neil, Margaret M. Hopkins, and Diana Bilimoria, “Women’s Careers at the Start of the 21st Century: Patterns and Paradoxes,” *Journal of Business Ethics* 80, no. 4 (2008): 729.

These quotes describe the expectation that the next step would involve long hours and stress, based on previous experience and observation. The last quote is from someone who believed it “wrong” to say she had a priority that was not her architectural work, indicating the strength of the ideal of the devoted architect, and how that ideal clashes with parenthood (a tension that will be discussed further in Chapter 9).

Conclusion

Those who had remained in architecture by working in these large firms and enduring to the career stage of Cohort Three had become reconciled to the profession, its ways of working, and their own careers. Joan Acker’s framework allows the observations of this cohort to be understood as manifestations of the gendered substructure of the profession because certain gender inequities were generated by the profession’s ways of working. These manifestations were apparent in this cohort in the cultural, structural, interaction, and identity dimensions.

The cultural understanding of architecture was contested and negotiated in a number of ways by interviewees. First, the cohort had broadened their conception of the scope of what an architect might do beyond the idealised design architect. Second, there was some questioning of the necessity and wisdom of long hours. Nonetheless, part-time work was still, on the whole, regarded as not “right” culturally, due to the perception that design is inherently unpredictable and needs a high degree of time flexibility to produce good work. Part-time work was also seen as difficult structurally, due to the time pressures imposed by the wider construction industry. Both of these aspects profoundly affected how working mothers were able (or allowed) to engage with the profession, leading some of them to deliberately curtail that engagement, with ongoing implications for their career advancement.

Structurally speaking, for this cohort, the number of places at senior levels and in coveted positions (such as design architect) was limited in both the wider profession and within each firm, leading to intense competition. In response, some interviewees, particularly women, moved to specialisations. This had a number of effects: by adding value to their skills beyond the general architect, a specialist was distinguished from other architectural staff, improving continued employment prospects. However, depending on the specialisation, a specialist might also be removed from career paths that led to more senior positions.

Interactions with those outside of the profession were less marked by gender distinction, mainly because women in this cohort had learned to deal with such issues. However, of critical importance

to women embarking on motherhood, and their ability to return after a career break, was their relationship with senior people in the firm. Being known and trusted, and one's capabilities being known and trusted, powerfully affected options for return to and continued employment. Such relationships depended on perceptions of women's performance and were therefore vulnerable to gender-stereotyping bias.

The structure and work culture of individual firms had a strong impact on the ability of individual women (and men) to develop an identity as an architect in them and to stay in the profession in general. All individuals in the cohort had negotiated an identity for themselves within the parameters of the profession as presented by their employing firm. This negotiation often involved a modification of what they considered an ideal architect might be. For the architects who were mothers, there was another layer of identity reconciliation, which often limited work options. Some, however, were not limited, and had found ways to resist the cultural insistence on long hours. Uncertainty and instability around design ability also seemed to affect professional identity—women more so than men.

To be in these firms at this stage of a career (rather than setting up their own firm) meant these employees had to reconcile to the ways of large firms. This will be discussed more in the next chapter.

Chapter 8 – Cohort Four: Dynamic Accommodation

It's not being cynical, it's just being observant. You can see the patterns [of women in the profession].

F23•T2•4b



Illustration 8-1: Photograph Taken by Nick Bassett in One of the Three Partner Firms in 2012.¹

Members of Cohort Four graduated prior to 1997. Consequently, this chapter investigates the experiences of architects who studied and graduated across a period of great social and economic change in Australia. Some had studied at a time when women were rare in architecture schools, but others had done so when women comprised over 40% of students. It was not useful to continue the five-year cohort bands for those with more than sixteen years' post-graduation experience. This is partly because there were too few in each band (although sub-bands have been generated to give

¹ This photograph was taken as part of the visual research component of the larger "Equity and Diversity" project. Persons featured in this photograph worked for one of the partner firms in 2012, but their appearance here should not be taken as an indication that they were interviewed for this dissertation—the two components of the research were quite separate.

some indication of age and experience),² but also because this study is predominantly interested in the contemporary manifestation of the gendered substructure. Nonetheless, uncovering the experiences of senior women is important for understanding how the profession has changed over time, and gauging the changing nature of the gendered substructure in architecture.

Those in this cohort spanned what might be called the mid-to-late-career period and ‘dynamic accommodation’ appeared to be the key theme for the cohort. Similar to the previous cohort, individuals in Cohort Four have reconciled themselves to working in the profession in large firms, but also generally engaged with this work context and environment on their own terms. The chapter begins by considering how interviewees have accommodated the work of architecture, then discusses the possibility of gender bias and discrimination, and then the intersection of family and professional life. The chapter finally investigates perceptions of what qualities are needed to rise to the top of the profession and, in particular, what is needed for a woman to make this ascent.

Accommodating the Job

The individuals in Cohort Four who were interviewed and observed for this study gave various reasons for their continued presence in large firms. Culturally, they regarded the type of projects completed in large firms as being more truly architecture. Structurally, large firms and their level of management were described as giving individuals options and advantages over having their own practice.

Large Versus Small: Firms and Projects

The classic career trajectory for an architect is to work for someone to build up skills, and then to set up a practice and focus on growing that. Dana Cuff calls working for oneself the “guiding vision” for architects.³ Registration is aimed towards that end, and “growing my own practice” was most nominated career goal in surveys of both women and men in the Australian profession conducted approximately ten years ago.⁴ Thus, this aspiration is deeply embedded in the culture of the profession. However, while starting one’s own practice was a stated ambition of the junior cohorts in this study, those interviewed in Cohort Four, like those in Cohort Three, were less interested in such a move. In fact, six of the interviewees had previously run their own practices and spoke of them as a precarious experience:

² Cohort 4a, sixteen-to-twenty years; 4b, twenty-one-to-twenty-five years; and 4c, twenty-five-plus years.

³ Dana Cuff, *Architecture: The Story of Practice* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), 137.

⁴ Paula Whitman, *Going Places: The Career Progression of Women in the Architectural Profession* (Brisbane: Queensland University of Technology, 2005), 12. Also in the men’s survey, *The Career Progression of Men in Architecture* (Melbourne: Royal Australian Institute of Architects, 2007), 9, http://archiparlour.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/The_Career_Progression_of_Men_in_Architecture.pdf.

I've a lot of friends that have gone off and started their own firms, [...] but those guys—they work like dogs! (M05•T2•4a)

I ran a successful practice, we had lots of work, but it was *always* marginal. Commercial work has some flesh in it, but small-scale, particularly residential, work doesn't. Even high-end residential doesn't have enough fees in it to make it easy. (M408•T1•4c)

I hated working for myself. I'm a really good employee. I work really hard for other people, I don't work hard for myself. (F45•T4•4a)

Those interviewed described how building a practice not only takes considerable work and time, but also the private nature of much of the work of a small practice is problematic. These architects' ambitions were for an architecture that engaged with the public. To an extent, this corresponded with Laurie Cohen et al's identification of architecture-as-public-service as one of the discourses available to architects to make sense of their work.⁵

I have never been that keen on doing houses. It's just that the sphere of influence is so—over the wider community—is so small. [...] It doesn't really contribute very much to the wider domain. (F15•T1•4c)

It's always social architecture [...] that I do. You actually can make a difference in people's lives. I think that's the real big thing. (F50•T3•4a)

If you think about how many people use hospitals and how dreadful they are most of the time, and how much that you can add value to that environment. (F45•T4•4a)

There is still a prevalent stereotype that women architects would (or should) be more suitable for, and best at, residential work.⁶ However, these interviewees did not conform to this expectation:

After working on incredibly detailed, bespoke houses for a long time, I thought: "Oh heavens, I haven't studied for six years to work on very wealthy people's kitchens!" It just felt wrong after a while. (F32•T1•4a)

In my old job, I spent three years full time working on one house for a couple and their son. I worked out it was like, whatever, 10% of my working life I'd given to this couple, essentially, because they were the only ones who were really going to benefit [...] That's such a huge

⁵ Laurie Cohen, Adrian Wilkinson, John Arnold, and Rachael Finn, "'Remember I'm the Bloody Architect!': Architects, Organizations and Discourses of Profession," *Work, Employment & Society* 19, no. 4 (2005).

⁶ Reported in Australia by Julie Willis, "Aptitude and Capacity: Published Views of the Australian Woman Architect," *Architectural Theory Review* 17, no. 2–3 (2012): 323. Also Sherry Ahrentzen, "The F Word in Architecture: Feminist Analyses in/of/for Architecture," in *Reconstructing Architecture: Critical Discourses and Social Practices*, ed. Thomas A. Dutton and Lian Hurst Mann (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1996), 79.

proportion of my mental energy and effort for sixty grand a year. What am I doing that for? I mean I enjoy it—because I enjoy the craft of it—but it’s kind of pointless. (F45•T4•4a)

I don’t really like residential work; I appreciate it in other people, but it’s not something I enjoy. It’s too intimate... the client/architect relationship is too intimate. (F520•T4•4a)

These claims also run somewhat counter to an idea in the profession that the best architecture is produced by small practices. Despite the ambition to grow one’s practice, larger practices and projects are often less respected within the profession. Cohen et al note in their study of UK firms that large firms were considered ‘commercial’ by other architects, and to be not “doing ‘real’ architecture.”⁷ Magali Larson describes a perception that large firms are contradictory to the creative identity of architecture, and notes that their work seldom attains “the aura of architecture as art.”⁸ One interviewee encapsulated this persistent cultural tension between large and small projects and large and small firms, first by saying:

In this country, there’s the kind of hero sole-practitioner architect—Rick Leplastrier, Glenn Murcutt, and so on—and they’re kind of celebrated for being these sort of lone-genius types. And that’s a pity because then what that means is you’ve got a lot people coming out of architecture school, and really good graduates won’t want to work for big organisations like this one. They’ll want to try and set up on their own, or they’ll want to work for very small outfits, because that’s considered to be the *real* architecture and this [large practice] is second rate.⁹

But later, this interviewee also speculated that, if it were not her need for the income she received from the larger practice, she would perhaps be working differently and on smaller projects:

I suspect I’d be working a similar number of hours, but the way I’d be spending that time might be quite different. I’d probably be trying to do little experimental projects or something like that.

Large offices and their large projects are perceived to be mainly driven by non-architectural imperatives (the construction industry, powerful clients, budget restrictions, and the like). As a result, ‘real’ architecture is thought to be more easily accomplished in smaller projects and firms. On such projects, architects are often able to have a higher level of autonomy and control over the process and, because attribution is clearer, the forming of a reputation as a designer is easier. This is integral to the architect-as-individual-genius model that dominates perceptions of merit in the

⁷ Cohen et al., “Remember I’m the Bloody Architect!” 783.

⁸ Magali Sarfatti Larson, *Behind the Postmodern Facade: Architectural Change in Late Twentieth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 8, 115.

⁹ Interviewee not identified to ensure anonymity.

profession, as discussed in Chapter 3.¹⁰ Nonetheless, all those interviewed considered that aesthetic/creative concerns *were* integral to their work, but, as discussed in the previous chapter, they argued that this was a complex mode of creativity. Indeed, some interviewees argued strongly against the orthodoxy of small-equals-real-architecture by claiming the reverse: that small-practice work was not ‘real’ architecture because of considerable, but different, constraints:

The ‘reno route’ is not a real practice. It’s fill-in. It’s like the cottage industry, in my view, because you completely lose your skills and your knowledge of the industry. (F23•T2•4b)

I became quite convinced that domestic-scaled architecture was extraordinarily difficult. You have too much responsibility, too little assistance—the budgets don’t allow you the proper consult team. You’re responsible for people’s lives, people’s money, people’s retirements, people’s savings; it’s all too... The autonomy is wonderful, but the exposure is just terrifying! (M37•T2•4b)

[I] love the big projects, and the variety of the projects and the skills that come with the big projects. [...] You know, doing someone’s house or little fit-out is all a bit of a bore when you have been juggling dozens of consultants and interesting clients. (F03•T4•4a)

There was, to an extent, also a gendered pattern to this tension. In the wider profession, small projects, such as renovations, are considered an option available to women working part time to fit in with family. In addition, in the larger firms, there was a further gendered pattern notable with project types. Firms rarely relied on just one sector because, in any economic downturn, commercial work would stop, but social infrastructure work (such as hospitals and schools) would continue. However, the fees for the latter work were less than for commercial work, and some interviewees identified a consequent hierarchy in projects, with commercial at the top and social infrastructure lower on the scale. This becomes a gendered hierarchy because the women interviewed, more so than the men, were working on social architecture projects.

It’s not commercial, ‘glamorous’ architecture that I do. (F50•T3•4a)

In health [project work] it does attract more women. (F34•T1•4b)

But what you do find is you’re pegged at non-commercial jobs because commercial jobs are for *real* boys with *real* fees and *real* incomes and *real* futures. And the girls always get the cultural jobs and the small jobs—that’s the way it tends to fall. (F23•T2•4b)

¹⁰ Page 82 of this thesis.

There was a suggestion from some interviewees that women chose such work, because the greater proportion of women working in the broader occupations in the social-infrastructure areas of health and teaching meant it was more likely that some of the clients and user groups for such projects would be female. But other interviewees considered that women were assigned such projects because of a stereotyped expectation that they would have a ‘natural’ affinity with these traditional realms of feminine expertise (the caring professions of health and education).¹¹

The hierarchy of projects was set primarily by the higher fees and sometimes higher budgets attainable for commercial work, but such work was also considered tougher and therefore more prestigious. There were repeated descriptions of commercial clients and projects as being aggressive, which may be a reason why women were excluded, or excluded themselves from such projects. But some interviewees argued that commercial work was actually more limited architecturally:

You pretty quickly learn the rules for commercial architecture... Commercial’s great, isn’t it? It’s just straight-forward and easy. (F19•T2•3)

The [commercial] market is very much driven by developers that actually decide what architects need to draw for them. (M26•T5•2)

Notably, a number of senior women spoke of treating all projects, including less prestigious ones, as an opportunity to re-think what that project type could be and to strive for a high-quality design:

I think designing a warehouse is interesting and challenging. You know, even when we had car parks in the office, there were great possibilities. (F19•T2•3)

[I] was interested in being able to really push a good design outcome and managing to get a client on board enough to enable me to do that. (F32•T1•4a)

Nevertheless, in these comments, there is possibly an element of cultural script, given that this kind of constant re-thinking of design problems is part of how design is often taught at architecture school. Its perseverance in the talk of senior women is perhaps a sign that those women who persist in the profession maintain high ideals about the potential of architecture.

¹¹ See also Gill Matthewson, “Same Words, Different Mouth,” *Architecture Centre Newsletter* July/October 2013, 6.

Management in Architecture Firms

Larger practices necessarily have a higher level of structure and organisation in comparison to small firms. This also runs counter to some strong cultural values within the profession, as Graham Winch and Eric Schneider attest, noting a strong cultural resistance among architects to being managed.¹² In particular, time management was viewed by interviewees in this study as not responsive to the high levels of flexibility and unknowability of the design process where multiple issues constantly arose with every project (as discussed in the previous chapter).

I think that eight-thirty-to-five and you just have to focus, focus, focus... I think there's an element of the work where you can't be on all the time. You need a bit of off-time... (F68•T3•4a)

Stephanie Taylor notes that those in creative industries describe the creative process as requiring people to “wander around the issue,” and of the time needed as not fitting into normal “office hours.”¹³ The “off-time” described in the quote above is to allow for this wandering. Consequently, Stephen Emmitt notes that architects perceive management as “outside of architectural culture” and as “something that detracts from creativity, something that suppresses rather than generates, hinders rather than helps.”¹⁴ The interviewees also often articulated this view of management, and there were, as a result, varying degrees of informality and casualness observable in the studied firms. One manifestation of informality was in the self-presentation of the architects, which can be seen as a reflection of their creative identity, as discussed previously.¹⁵ For instance, while a male architect might wear a suit, he did not wear a tie—an item that one man considered especially not-creative:

[A tie] it's like having a noose around your neck, isn't it? [...] It just doesn't seem very creative. (M38•T5•1b)

However, in one office visited, a number of the men *did* wear ties, but their shirts were not tucked in. These gestures towards non-conformity were the indicators of creativity for the men; for women, it was often “architecturally inspired jewellery” (F12•T5•2). One interviewee described the unofficial ‘uniform’ of architects:

Women, it's a uniform [...] geometric-print skirt and knee-high boots; chunky beads (de rigueur); chunky earrings, if you need them, preferably resin. [...] Men: crazy glasses, stubble—like me—slightly gaunt. (M14•T3•3)

¹² Graham Winch and Eric Schneider, “Managing the Knowledge-Based Organization: The Case Study of Architectural Practice,” *Journal of Management Studies* 30, no. 6 (1993): 934. Also page 86 of this thesis.

¹³ Stephanie Taylor, “The Meanings and Problems of Contemporary Creative Work,” *Vocations and Learning* 5, no. 1 (2012): 49.

¹⁴ Stephen Emmitt, “Architectural Management—An Evolving Field,” *Engineering, Construction and Architectural Management* 6, no. 2 (1999): 192.

¹⁵ Pages 93 and 129 of this thesis.

What is worn forms an embodied physical identity, with that identity demonstrating status, ability, and credibility as an architect and as a professional.¹⁶ But there was a tension between the architect and the professional that was sometimes a fine line, to the extent that two of the three firms studied had clauses in their employment contracts regarding permissible attire. Both policies asserted client contact as necessitating the clause, and detailed a “professional image” suitable for a “professional office.” Notably, in one set of guidelines, the proscribed clothing was predominantly around what women might wear, and the other detailed that “extremes of fashion” were to be avoided. The firm without an attire clause relied on internalised codes,¹⁷ which, although not formalised, were still discernible in what the staff wore. The significance of what architects wear and what it might indicate was reflected upon by several interviewees:

A lot of our clients are corporate, basically. That’s just the way it is. And I think you’ve got to look like you live in their world. [...] Not totally. (M54•T1•4a)

I think if you’re dressing unusually, potentially there’s a perception that when you’re designing a building, it might be costly—rightly or wrongly. (M22•T2•3)

That clients might affect the embodiment of the architect is a sign of the power of clients, as has been noted by Cuff, Judith Blau, and Garry Stevens.¹⁸ However, Kathryn Haynes argues that in all professional-service firms clients act as a regulatory force on the embodiment of professionalism, particularly if the service is part of an ongoing relationship,¹⁹ as it is in larger architecture firms.

While sometimes culturally resisted, management was also identified by most Cohort Four interviewees as being useful for providing a degree of security around both project types and employment. Larger firms tend to deal with more complex projects, which are generally awarded to them because clients assume that only such firms have the organisational capacity and reputation for carrying them out:

I have always approached working [here] as being sort of an umbrella to do what I wanted to do because I like doing big public projects [...] and I can’t get [them] on my own. (F15•T1•4c)

¹⁶ Kathryn Haynes, “Body Beautiful? Gender, Identity and the Body in Professional Services Firms,” *Gender, Work & Organization* 19, no. 5 (2012): 496.

¹⁷ Joanne Entwistle, “Fashion and the Fleishy Body: Dress as Embodied Practice,” *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture* 4, no. 3 (2000): 330.

¹⁸ Cuff, *Architecture*, 35; Judith R. Blau, *Architects and Firms: A Sociological Perspective on Architectural Practice* (Cambridge, MA; London: MIT Press, 1984), 134; Garry Stevens, *The Favored Circle: The Social Foundations of Architectural Distinction* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998), 98.

¹⁹ Haynes, “Body Beautiful?” 497.

I feel like I've got the backing of a large company. I couldn't get a [particular type of project] on my own. (F68•T3•4a)

The firms studied varied in their modes and methods of management, but all had manuals that detailed employee rights and systems that (at least theoretically) allowed for over-time pay or time-off-in-lieu as recompense for long hours, while other policies covered promotion criteria, support for registration, training opportunities, and special leave options, including parental leave. This gave a level of stability and certainty to workers in the firms.

I think part of the reason I also went to a larger more commercial organisation was I was just *so* sick of small practice in terms of lack of management or ability—and also, often, very large egos. [...] [In a large firm], there's processes in place... like getting paid! (F68•T3•4a)

One of the good things about this office is that if you look in the employee manual, you can actually look through and see what it takes. [...] You can actually go to the checklist and say, "I do this, this, this and this, and I think I should go to the next level." (M05•T2•4a)

Some interviewees thought that larger practices had more "places to perch" than smaller practices, with the ability to become specialised (as discussed in the previous chapter), and to do what they were good at. Another noted advantage of larger practices was the potential pool of people that one could interact with, both socially and professionally:

You have people who know what they are doing. I am good at some things in architecture and not good at all [things]. So I am supported by people who are better at the areas that I am weak at, which makes you more effective. (M37•T2•4b)

Being able to tap in and work with the other brains—particularly really, really clever, gifted brains—is just a delight. It's just really enjoyable to work at that level. (F34•T1•4b)

This level of communality was possibly one of the reasons why membership of the Australian Institute of Architects was not high in any of the firms studied, and was mainly limited to very senior people.²⁰ Cuff argues that architects need to be collective in order to establish meaning for their work.²¹ For the staff in these larger firms, their collective community, meaning, and support were supplied in-house.²² In addition, for women, larger firms provided a range of other women to connect with and provide support against possible gender biases.

²⁰ Page 110 of this thesis.

²¹ Cuff, *Architecture*, 157.

²² For a similar reason, states with smaller architecture populations, and probably smaller firms, tended to have higher rates of belonging to the institute of architecture. See Figure B-1.

Accommodating Gender Bias

Julie Willis and Bronwyn Hanna observed there was a great deal of variety and disparity in the accounts of how gender had impacted on individual women architects' experiences in the first half of the twentieth century.²³ There was a similar variety in the accounts of the women interviewed in Cohort Four. Stories of bias arose in women's accounts of their career history and with questions regarding whether they thought gender had affected them.

Accounts of Gender Bias

With more than sixteen years post-graduation experience, Cohort Four women had experienced more overt discrimination, particularly those with more than twenty years in the field. The first notable aspect in the women's accounts of these experiences is the silence that attends them. (Note that individuals are not identified in this section to preserve anonymity):

I am only talking to you about it because I think it's important that if you're researching about women in the workplace... It's not easy and it's not always... you know, you're silent about it.

Actually, you shouldn't probably... but I'll tell you... just, whatever, it's between you and I.

Thus, women who had experienced bias and some uncomfortable and unpleasant situations were usually reluctant to speak of it and would not in normal situations.²⁴ Like the previous cohort and women in other professions, these women who persist in the profession of architecture have done so through not dwelling on such incidents. One who spoke of constantly feeling "like a second-class citizen," and who recounted numerous incidents of sexual harassment from colleagues, being explicitly excluded from events, and blocked promotion, tempered such stories with many expressions of how lucky she had been and how "blessed with support."

The second notable aspect of the accounts of overt discrimination is that it was by no means limited to last century. Some incidents of harassment and exclusion had occurred more recently and had triggered women leaving particular firms.

They decided they were going to have these directors for each specialty: health, this and that. And they chose a guy that they wanted me to train to become the director—I wasn't even considered. [...] And when I left, my [direct] boss said, "You know, it would have been different if you were a male."

²³ Julie Willis and Bronwyn Hanna, *Women Architects in Australia 1900–1950* (Red Hill, ACT: Royal Australian Institute of Architects, 2001), 95.

²⁴ Although all-women architecture events sometimes turn into 'dump' sessions.

In Chapter 6, Cohort Two interviewees discussed moving to a different firm to find the right fit;²⁵ for some of the women in Cohort Four, finding that fit had been a long process. The ability to not be undermined by such episodes and interactions was critical to longevity in the profession. The previous chapter discussed the need for confidence, and this was still a point of vulnerability for this cohort:

A few years ago, one of the big builders around town basically sort of manipulated me into a corner and bullied me. That was pretty nasty; it blew my confidence for a while. [...] Yeah, that was awful. So, there are some tough situations.

The third notable aspect of the women's accounts of the effect of gender was the contradictions present within them. Several senior women initially refused to see gender as impacting them at all, but then went on to describe how it had indeed affected their careers and continued to affect their daily interactions. One interviewee explained why she refused to consider gender:

I don't like to put people in boxes of gender, because I just think there's too much baggage that comes with that that's not fair and doesn't necessarily apply to you, because we all have a mix of traits. [...] I just want to get it on just a level playing field and just [...] put aside all those labels and just work together as a team.

However, she went on to describe how gender could affect that team:

I reckon you have anywhere between a third and a half of whatever gender and it's a much healthier, balanced—I don't know. Just the different dynamics and personalities and, whatever it is, it just works better.

She then described what she considered were classic female behaviours that haunted her and other women:

I think it's a thing a lot of women suffer from is that you sort of think that, if I just stay quiet and do a really good job, people will notice me and the rewards will come. It comes from the same bag of tricks as looking over your shoulder wondering when you're going to get discovered because you don't really know what you're doing—that sort of thing. [...] Of, you know, being a bit embarrassed, and a bit apologetic, and a bit not quite sure.

This interviewee initially articulates what she sees as women's reluctance to self-promote but trust that good work will be recognised. As previously noted, women often exhibit this reluctance and

²⁵ Page 153 of this thesis.

tend to believe that doing a good job should be sufficient.²⁶ Then, the interviewee alludes to what has been called the ‘impostor syndrome,’ which is well documented for women, particularly those in senior positions.²⁷ She then speaks of confidence, the fragility of which was discussed in the previous chapter.²⁸ Another woman articulated another typical female behaviour that affected how long she spent at work:

I’ve always tended to work a bit more than necessary, and it’s possibly because of my interest. And then I think there’s this very female thing—I don’t know, but I’ve heard it from other friends—where you just don’t think you’re efficient enough at other times and so you have to kind of put in that extra.

It is possible that this attitude causes women to under-report the hours they work per week in the Census as seen in Figure 2-12. Such extra work to counter a self-perception by women of under-performing is reported in other research on women’s careers. Jane Sturges cites studies that suggest that women’s long hours are, at least partly, driven by conscientiousness.²⁹ Deneen Hatmaker describes women engineers working harder and longer to prove themselves.³⁰ This is a clear response to how women’s work is assessed differently in the workplace, as discussed in Chapter 3.³¹ Such attitudes are very often internalised by individual women and become part of their identity. However, they are also a response to the cultural and structural constraints that women experience who work in occupations that have historically been dominated by men.

I just hate the word ‘career.’ I hate it! It’s almost like it’s a word that... it’s about self-promotion at all expenses or something. [...] Just because I’m interested in it, and I’m relatively good at it, why does that make me career-focused? [...] I think ‘career’ is quite a sort of a negative word. It’s a positive word for men and a negative word for women.

While all the firms studied for this project had policies regarding discrimination, among those interviewees who did discuss the issue, there was reluctance to formally “make a fuss” over comments and harassment because the profession was small (even in a large city), and gaining a reputation for complaint might be detrimental. According to research by the Australian Human

²⁶ Page 94 of this thesis.

²⁷ Cited in Ruth Sealy, “Changing Perceptions of Meritocracy in Senior Women’s Careers,” *Gender in Management: An International Journal* 25, no. 3 (2010): 191.

²⁸ Page 181 of this thesis.

²⁹ Jane Sturges, “A Matter of Time: Young Professionals’ Experiences of Long Work Hours,” *Work, Employment & Society* 27, no. 2 (2013): 345.

³⁰ Deneen M. Hatmaker, “Engineering Identity: Gender and Professional Identity Negotiation among Women Engineers,” *Gender, Work & Organization* 20, no. 4 (2013): 393.

³¹ Page 77 of this thesis.

Rights Commission, negative repercussions from complaining are not uncommon.³² In addition, there were some stories among the interviewees of complaints being ignored. In one instance, an interviewee described a formal complaint about a serial harasser in a previous firm (who had caused more than one woman to leave that firm) being laughed off by male Tier 1 owners of the company.

‘Tug of War’

A different aspect of gender in the workplace was raised by two separate senior men who considered that discrimination was fiercest from other women, with motherhood in particular being a powerful pivot point. Some of the informants to the study had experienced this:

Some of the biggest opponents to working mothers are actually the other women in the office, who have been heard to say, “Why is it okay for the ones with kids to go home at five and I’m the one who’s here till ten finishing the work off?” And that the working mothers are some kind of special club that get special treatment, which really puts them in a deadline-free zone, that deadlines become other people’s problems. (M41•T1•4c)

If you’re a woman and don’t have children, then your time is considered flexible and it feels less valuable. (F129•T3•3)

Some of this is a product of age, with younger women interviewees without children critical of mothers, a bias which one described as “natural”:

I probably did to be honest—before, when I didn’t have a child and I didn’t have to leave—I probably would have thought privately to myself, “Oh well, leave! I’ll just end up working extra hours to make up for it!” I think that’s absolutely natural. So I’m very conscious of it now, and I’ll change my days if there’s a deadline coming up. (F33•T4•3)

When I came back and younger women saying, “Oh, maybe I should get knocked up like you and then I could take a holiday.” [...] It’s not a holiday! And then when they actually do get pregnant, they don’t come back.³³

Division between women was discussed in Chapter 3.³⁴ Joan Williams and Rachel Dempsey call it the “tug of war,” and maintain that “gender bias often fuels conflict among women,” to the extent

³² Nearly one in three of their survey respondents reported such an outcome; *Working without Fear: Results of the 2012 Sexual Harassment National Telephone Survey*, (Sydney: Australian Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, 2012), 44, https://www.humanrights.gov.au/sites/default/files/document/publication/SHSR_2012%20Community%20Guide%20Web%20Version%20Final.pdf.

³³ Interviewee not identified to ensure anonymity.

³⁴ Page 71 of this thesis.

that they argue that such conflict can be regarded as evidence that gender bias is occurring.³⁵ If this is the case, then bias was clearly present in the Australian architecture profession in these instances.

Accommodating a Family

Most of the interviewees in Cohort Four had families and, like those in the previous cohort, had accommodated work and family. Half of the women in the cohort were the main earner in their family.

Childcare

Over one-third of interviewees in this cohort were either married to, or in a relationship with, another architect. Some of these partners—both women and men—were running small practices in combination with childcare. Each family had made choices as to how they juggled childcare. One couple tried both working for a while:

It was very, very difficult; I didn't want to leave my babies and he was having a hard time trying to manage his work. He used to work at night and on the weekends and we never saw one another. Then, by the time our second child was born [...], I just remember, we were *so* tired, we were *so* sick, and we were just exhausted. So he just started doing less and less in his [small practice] work. (F32•T1•4a)

Another couple lived on one income when the children were very young and went “backwards on the mortgage.” At the time of the research, they each worked four-and-a-half-day weeks and involved their parents in childcare. The use of grandparents for help with childcare was a tactic also mentioned by others.

While many in the younger cohorts foresaw that it would be a child's early years when childcare was most pressing, three Cohort Four interviewees discussed how school years were not necessarily easier. The rigid timetable of schools and after-school activities, and the added demand of homework complicated matters. Those with teenagers noted that they seemed to need a different kind of attention:

I think as the kids get older, it actually gets harder, [...] they start carrying on about it more. (F32•T1•4a)

³⁵ Joan Williams and Rachel Dempsey, *What Works for Women at Work: Four Patterns Working Women Need to Know* (New York: New York University Press, 2014), 180.

Part-Time Work

Although the majority of this cohort (86%) worked full time, a number were working part time, in patterns ranging from short weeks to short days. A couple of men were on four-and-a-half-day weeks to enable them to pick children up from day care one day a week. However, childcare did not account for all the part-timers. Two women interviewees worked four-day weeks. One had worked in this pattern for all the time she had been at the firm, formerly using the fifth day for teaching, then, later, spending it with her child. Combining practice with teaching in this manner was not uncommon. The other had a consultancy business as well as her position in the firm. Two interviewees, a man and a woman, each worked three-or-less days a week, the man because he was semi-retired and retained as a consultant; the woman did so for childcare reasons. One woman worked shorter days, which was originally instituted for childcare, but continued in order to keep the implicit demands for long hours under control.

Fifteen of the interviewees in this cohort were (or later became) members of Tier 1 or 2; seven women and eight men. All of the men in this group had children; two of the women did not. One woman's husband was the primary child-carer—as a couple, they had swapped the traditional roles.³⁶ Two more of the women with children in this group worked part time for childcare reasons, but only one of the men did (although, a four-and-a-half-days a week is on the high side of 'part time'). The last two women with children had children older than sixteen. Part-timers were only present at Tier 2; at Tier 1, the women either had no children or a partner who was the main child-carer.

We actually don't allow [any Tier 1] to work part time [...] I think if you want to be a [Tier 1] of a practice, it's a lifestyle choice. And you can have a family quite successfully, but you have to make some... something's got to have sacrifice. (M54•T1•4a)

That 'something sacrifice' more often was woman's ambitions to Tier 1. Because of the difficulties of having a child and advancing as an architect in a larger firm, detailed in the last chapter, a number of women associated with those interviewed (friends and colleagues) had delayed having children until their very late thirties and early forties, by which stage they had established their career. The collision of the career timeline with the family timeline, noted for other occupations, was strong for the women architects in this study.³⁷

³⁶ A number of other women interviewed at other levels and in other cohorts were also in this situation.

³⁷ Page 70 of this thesis.

Getting to the Top

It would be expected that the sixteen years' post-graduation experience of these staff members would translate to their advancement through the office hierarchy. The majority (83%) of the sixty-three people in Cohort Four had formal titles (Tiers 1 to 3, Table 8-1), but eleven people did not. Of these, three (two women and one man) had parallel senior roles and salaries that would place them roughly equivalent to Tier 2. Three of the remaining eight were women, a much higher percentage than their representation in the cohort overall.

Career Progression in a Large Practice

When considering years of experience since graduation, and tier level achieved, a notable gender difference can be observed in Cohort Four (Table 8-1):

Table 8-1: Cohort Four, Levels by Sub-Cohorts

Cohort Four	Cohort Four/a (16–20)			Cohort Four/b (21–25)			Cohort Four/c (26+)		
	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men	Total
Tier 1 – Director/Principal	1	3	4		3	3	1	7	8
Tier 2 – Sub-director	1	4	5	1	7	8	1	7	8
Tier 3 – Associate	2	3	5	1	4	5	2	4	6
Tier 4	4	1	5				1	5	6
Titled	8	11	19	2	14	16	5	23	28

Source: Data derived from information supplied by participating architecture firms and their websites.

In Cohort Four/a, three times as many men as women had achieved Tier 1. Two of the five women in Cohort Four/c were in Tier 2 and above, but fourteen out of the twenty-three men (61%) were. These proportions shifted slightly with promotions over the 2012–2014 period, when five people in the cohort were promoted, three of whom were women. One man and one woman achieved Tier 1; the other promotions were to Tier 2.

In addition, for those in Cohort Four, from the most junior to senior members, longevity with the firm increasingly accounted for higher levels within the hierarchies: all but one of those with more than ten years' tenure within the firms were at the senior/titled levels, with the one exception being a woman. In 2012, the staff-profiling showed only three of all the architectural staff had been with the firms for more than ten years and not achieved at least Tier 3 (two women and one man). By 2014, that man had left the firm and one of the women had received a promotion.

Although, proportionally, less of Cohort Four left the firms over the 2012–2014 period than any other cohort, there was still some movement. By September 2014, nearly one-quarter of the original

2012 staff in the cohort had left, although four of the fifteen were retirees. A greater proportion of women left than men (Table 8-2); however, there were few women in this cohort, which would tend to distort the figures. The difference also reduced when adjusted to remove those who had retired.

Table 8-2: Staff Movement Cohort Four, 2012–2014

Cohort Four	2012				2014			
	Women	Men	Total	% women	Women	Men	Total	% women
Total Numbers 2012	15	48	63	24%				
	Left by 2014				4	11	15	27%
	% of staff leaving				27%	23%	24%	
	% of staff leaving not including retirees				21%	18%	19%	27%

Source: Data derived from information supplied by participating architecture firms and their websites.

Most of those who left had been with the firms for less than five years (nine out of eleven and all the women), suggesting a more itinerant workforce. Once again, when settled in a workplace, women were staying. The phenomenon observed for Cohort Two of women staying in a firm to avoid having to start all over again to prove themselves can result in women believing that it would be too difficult for them to ever leave. One interviewee also commented that age was a factor: “because people discount people who are basically older” (F23•T2•4b), arguing that changing firms became more difficult with age.

Most of the non-Tier 1 Cohort Four male interviewees, and a number of the women, considered they were in a position where the practice supported the kind of work they wanted to do and were good at. They were settled at their level, comfortable with what they were doing, and not necessarily expectant of moving higher in the hierarchy.

I’ve been given projects which have been pretty good projects to be given to work on... You get handed a loaded gun on a good project, instructed not to shoot yourself and come out the other end with a good delivery. (M21•T2•4b)

Frankly, I wasn’t that ambitious to go any further. I don’t find it terribly natural leading a team. (F09•T3•4c)

I have always been very happy to be 2IC. [...] I’m on that tier that gets the work done and that’s what I like to do. (M13•T2•4c)

I don’t want to be the front-man, I’m very comfortable being a 2IC—love being a 2IC. (F520•T4•4a)

Some of the interviewees, all women, were less happy in their work and used words that suggested a level of inertia kept them in the firms, or that they felt they had no other option but to stay—particularly if working part time. Nonetheless, these women were also cognisant that they had worked on some good projects:

So, you either go and start your own practice and you do small, housie jobs because you're part time. Or you stay at a big practice, do more interesting things, and put up with the situation as it is.³⁸

As described in previous chapters, interviewees in Cohorts Two and Three discussed ambition in terms of being for the project, which was a sentiment echoed by those in Cohort Four—once they had reached what they considered to be their appropriate tier level. The cultural norm or script of ambition expressed for projects also means that a more structured approach to career progression is quite rare.

Essentially what happened to me is what I think happens to a lot of architects during the course of their careers; we very often don't have a career objective in mind, and we get good at doing something and, consequently, we're given more responsibility. (M56•T2•4c)

I didn't even think about career path; my focus was just on doing stuff, making sure that I was doing it absolutely as best I could. (F32•T1•4a)

I've never really cared about status or anything. I've just cared about loving my job, loving what I do, and being engaged. But, in a way, I think I'm almost at a stage where I'd be interested in knowing what my path might potentially hold. (F68•T3•4a)

In other fields, such reticence or casual approach to a career would seem odd, but, in architecture, it fits with the cultural script to the extent that those who are outwardly ambitious are often looked on less favourably. However, as revealed in Chapter 6, such talk may be belied by behind-the-scenes jostling for higher positions and better project roles.

Two women spoke of their progression within a firm as being due to a perception that they were working at a level equal to a particular man, and if that man was promoted, it would be manifestly unfair if the woman was not.

X was going to be made a [Tier 2] and they couldn't really do it without making me at the same time because it was quite obvious we were both at the same level. [...] I don't know what debates

³⁸ Interviewee not identified to ensure anonymity.

might have happened behind the scenes... I would have been pretty furious if they'd have made him and not me, and I guess they probably would have known that. (F34•T1•4b)

In addition, a number of women and men attributed their career progression to luck and timing, which included the state of the economy into which an individual might graduate.

When I joined [this practice], I kind of joined at *exactly* the right time. [...] I think I was able to leap-frog with the practice [growing]. I think there's luck in timing involved. (M54•T1•4a)

Becoming a Tier 1—"Such a Big Piece of the Pie"

Whereas promotion to Tier 3 was considered by all interviewees to be usually for services rendered to the practice, and promotion to Tier 2 was understood to be for what were described vaguely and opaquely as leadership qualities, Tier 1 was an altogether different matter. It is less a promotion than an invitation to be a financial owner with consequent considerable responsibilities.

All but one of the Tier 1 level owners across the offices were in Cohort Four, but over half achieved this level when they had between ten and fifteen years' post-graduation experience; that is, when they were in Cohort Three. Figure 8-1 shows the approximate number of years it took for all those at Tier 1 to reach that level from the time of their graduation (break-down includes number of years with the firm). There are too few women in this group to draw general conclusions (F1, F2, F3, and F4 indicated with spots), but it is notable that of the seven people who took longer than fifteen years, three are women, with two having the longest wait.

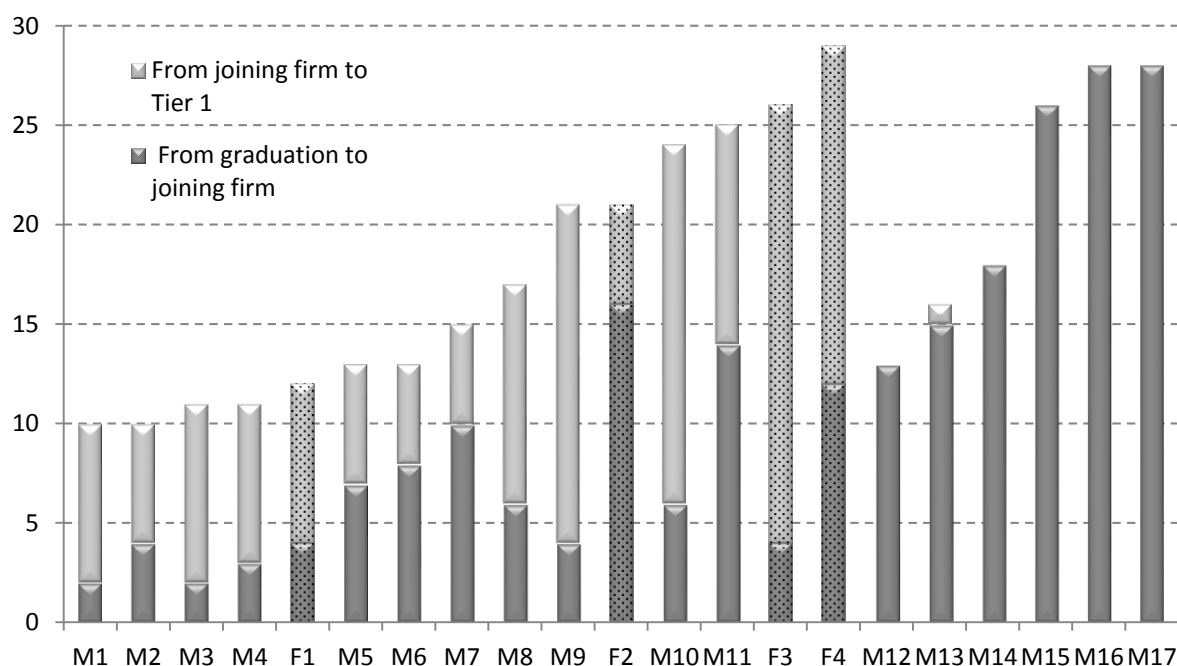


Figure 8-1: Years to Achieve Tier 1 Level

Source: Data derived from information supplied by participating architecture firms and their websites.

Nation-wide, across all the offices in the firms, women comprised an even lower proportion of the Tier 2 group than they did of the Tier 1 group. This pattern pertained in all but one of the offices studied, and was perpetuated with promotions over the 2012–2014 period, and might be seen as having implications for women in the future attaining Tier 1 level, as there would be a smaller pool of women available to promote. However, the route to Tier 1 in firms of this size was not always through internal promotion; six of the Tier 1s (M12 to M17—to the right of Figure 8-1) attained that level at the studied firms from Tier 1 positions in their own or smaller firms. It is not uncommon for those running small, particularly award-winning, firms to be head-hunted by the larger firms. However, no women had followed that trajectory in the firms—but over one-third of the male Tier 1s had—and so the smaller pool of women at Tier 2 might well be significant for the potential of women to become owners.

To become Tier 1 was described as involving a series of skills, the main one being to “bring in the work”:

You’d have to bring something significant I think to the table. Whether that’s a major client or, potentially, a new area of expertise that you could bring in [...] to contribute to expansion of the office. Because the issue usually for [Tier 1 owners] is, why would they want to dilute ownership? (M22•T2•3)

Interviewees identified a number of attributes of Tier 1s that enabled them to bring in the work, particularly a highly developed set of social skills:

You’ve got to be the type of person, I think, that every opportunity they get, every day of the week, is making relationships with people. And that’s one of the things that my last [Tier 1] was excellent at: all the work that came through the door was based on his relationships that he’d developed over... since he was ten, almost. (M67•T3•3)

He could *really* turn on the charm. And some of the clients loved him because he was into art and always dressed well and could *really* talk the talk. [...] He brought in quite a lot of work. (F44•T5•2)

The ability to communicate and persuade verbally is critical in the profession, since clients, builders, councils, and the like might all, at times, need convincing that the project would be better if completed in a certain way. All Tier 1s were seen by the interviewees to be very good

communicators and confident people.³⁹ One informant succinctly, but irreverently, described this mix as “bullshit and bravado.”

Most of the [Tier 1s] are *very* persuasive people. They end up being able to convince a room of a direction that everyone should go in. I don’t think that’s unlike many other businesses, but they end up being able to gain people’s confidence quite well, and that’s probably more important than any of the other aspects. (M05•T2•4a)

In large practices, where clients and client bodies, such as developers or government agencies, have multiple and future projects retaining good relationships is paramount—keeping clients is crucial:

The way we get work [is] through doing a good job, [and] our clients coming back to us. We win much more work through that than through any other avenue. (M37•T2•4b)

The need to keep clients happy has some particular consequences for women at this level. Katherine Sang et al observe a prevalence of homosocial behaviour in architecture because of the dominance of men among clients and construction-industry professionals.⁴⁰ This was also noted by some of the interviewees in this project:

There’s project-management groups whose notion of lunchtime entertainment isn’t what you would like to go to. [...] So it might be that to get certain jobs, some people think they have to be in with those rather sleazier boys in the construction industry. [...] You hear from people who have told you that they didn’t go. So you wonder how many people *did* go, because people who do go don’t tell you.⁴¹

The importance of keeping clients happy is also one of the reasons that part-time work at higher levels is widely considered to be problematic. All at Tier 1 level spoke consistently of working long hours, including evenings and weekends. Rather than for individual projects, these hours were more for keeping the business going:

I [am in] generally eight-thirty and leave by seven in the evening. And then I will go home and do another three or four hours at night. [...] Weekends, I will always do at least four to six hours on a weekend. (F15•T1•4c)

A lot of the [Tier 1] discussions [...] happen between about seven-thirty and ten-thirty at night [...] which means you’re always on. We’d be sitting at the breakfast table and I’ve still got half of

³⁹ All were highly articulate in the interviews.

⁴⁰ Katherine Sang, Andrew Dainty, and Stephen Ison, “Gender in the UK Architectural Profession: (Re)Producing and Challenging Hegemonic Masculinity,” *Work, Employment & Society* 28, no. 2 (2014): 8.

⁴¹ Interviewee not identified to ensure anonymity.

me is there and half of me has the thing of like, you know, what's happening today or what do we need to do. (M11•T1•4a)

One older woman, however, noted that “very often, what happens is [the Tier 1s] go home and we stay!” (F62•T3•4b) More usually, however, Tier 1s were identified as having a high workload. This was a reason why some interviewees did not wish to move to Tier 1:

[Tier 1s] do live/breathe it, I think you *have* to live/breathe it. (F19•T2•3)

I don't want to take on all of that stress and everything. [...] If you asked a [Tier 1] on a pie chart to say how much of your life is architecture? I think they would probably draw that piece of the pie [300 degrees]. I think it's such a big piece of the pie. And I'm sort of this much of the pie, you know [200 degrees]. I just don't want to do that [300 degrees]. (F03•T4•4a)

Although these [Tier 1s] actually do have a pretty good work–life balance, they have still got a lot going on: the stress, they're always very busy, travelling a lot. (F28•T6•1b)

Women at the Top

Overall, the rarity of very senior women in any of the firms the interviewees had worked for meant that they were highly visible. Rosabeth Kanter argues that, in such situations, the women tend to have stereotyped gender roles projected onto them.⁴² Two in particular were identified by interviewees describing senior women in architecture: queen bee and superwoman.⁴³ The women were either described in extraordinary terms (“she's an alien,” “she's in a class of her own,” “just completely amazing”), or in unenviable terms (“she tended to terrify people a little bit,” “women at that level, they've got to be that really strong bully or they don't have the voice”). There was, therefore, a sense that the women at the top were not replicable. While all Tier 1s were spoken of as “impressive,” some Tier 1 women were singled out by other women as exceptional:

I think mentorship is really important and I think young men are still much more likely to get that. [...] I have a feeling that because you're not as likely [as a woman] to get [that] kind of assistance (at the moment at least) [being exceptional] *is* what it takes, and that's very unfair. You shouldn't have to be a kind of uber-person to... because I don't think the men are. (F64•T2•4a)

Describing someone as amazing is an expression of admiration; however, it places a premium on these women, on any woman: you must be amazing to be at the top. Again, it is not unusual in any field that the women at the top are spoken about in such terms; Margaret Thornton observes that women judges are typically also described as exceptional. She argues that the sub-text of such

⁴² Rosabeth Moss Kanter, *Men and Women of the Corporation*, 2nd ed. (New York: Basic Books, 1993), 233.

⁴³ “Iron maiden” and “mother” roles in Kanter's taxonomy, *ibid.*, 233–36.

words implies that merit and woman do not connect, unless the woman is exceptional.⁴⁴ It is easy for younger women architects to question their ability to be exceptional when their confidence might be shaken by a nasty encounter with a client/builder/consultant/senior architect, or when they are exhausted or unable to meet the long hours commitment, or when they see men receiving good projects, because it is perceived that they will stay around while the women might disappear to have a child. This is where a robust professional identity acts as a bulwark against such doubts, but gender can be a deadly saboteur of that confidence.

The senior women interviewees all expressed a confidence and clear awareness about their skills in architecture (“I can pull rabbits out of hats!” “I’ve got good skills in being able to get clients confident”). In addition, they were still highly engaged in their work. Kathleen Buse et al identified these qualities as important for persistent women engineers.⁴⁵ Despite these high levels of confidence, Tier 1 women in this study spoke of taking time to consider whether they would accept the offer when invited to the top level and expressed doubt as to whether they wanted to take it on:

I was scared of being a [Tier 1]; I was scared of being a leader... You know, am I up to it, how stressful, how hard is it going to be, do I know all the answers... all that sort of thing.

[Author]: And how is it?

It’s all those things. [...] It *is* definitely very stressful and confronting. It’s not like: “Phew, OK, I’m here now, now I can relax, now I’m going to do this.” It’s not that at all! It’s like, every day: “Good. Right. I’m still here!”⁴⁶

I remember being asked and thinking, “Oh God, what does that mean?” [Having lots of things happening at home] and then being asked to be a [Tier 1]... You know, I don’t need that!

I really questioned whether I would take it up. [...] [But] I thought there was some chance to make a difference at meetings and discussions.

Conclusion

Those in Cohort Four knew their strengths and weaknesses, and worked with and around large firms, taking advantage of these firms’ structures to practice the way they wanted, on the kinds of projects that such firms provided. Primarily, a strong sense of professional identity had allowed women to navigate their way in the profession. The women in this cohort, and in these large firms, who had persisted were, like women engineers others have studied, those with high levels of

⁴⁴ Margaret Thornton, “The Mirage of Merit: Reconstituting the ‘Ideal Academic’,” *Australian Feminist Studies* 28, no. 76 (2013): 130.

⁴⁵ Kathleen Buse, Diana Bilimoria, and Sheri Perelli, “Why They Stay: Women Persisting in US Engineering Careers,” *Career Development International* 18, no. 2 (2013).

⁴⁶ Interviewees not identified in this section to ensure anonymity.

profession role confidence and a strong self-identity as an architect.⁴⁷ They were comfortable with their work and engaged with it; they enjoyed architecture and the opportunities it provided; and did not doubt their abilities. Most had reached a dynamic accommodation with the profession.

However, a number of the women seemed to be operating on a “better the devil you know” basis, indicating a degree of continuing wariness as to whether their professional identity would survive a transplant to another workplace because of their gender. Coupled with age, this seemed to keep the older women from leaving firms, especially if they held a formal title. Most of the women in this cohort had felt the impact of gender bias at some time in their career, particularly the older ones, and worked with and around it.

Those women at the top, that interviewees from all cohorts had been able to observe, were considered to be exceptional. As a consequence, they were difficult professional role models for junior women as they set a high benchmark, although their existence did demonstrate to all that such lives were possible. The women at the top were still too few to avoid some reductive gender stereotypes—notably of the superwoman but also the queen bee.

Many of the interviewees in this cohort were in some way resisting or challenging the dominant cultural constructions of the stereotype of an architect, including the notion that the architecture profession is creative. It was not so much that they considered themselves and their work uncreative, but they had a more dynamic interpretation of what creative meant in architecture, and of its limits. Like the previous cohort, most here considered that design ran throughout the life of any project. In addition, to even work in a large firm on large projects ran against a certain orthodoxy of where ‘real’ architecture resided. Instead, for the interviewees, architecture *was* the larger projects because they had greater public impact.

While the traditional accepted career pattern in architecture is to move from large practices, such as those studied, to one’s own practice, there was clear traffic in the other direction and for multiple reasons. In particular, the management structure necessary in large firms supported different roles and provided a level of security, particularly to those who had been in the offices for some time.

The Cohort Four women’s experiences help reveal how gender has affected their careers across their time in architecture, which has seen great changes. As one older woman interviewee put it:

⁴⁷ Page 94 of this thesis.

I am very jealous. I wish that I could be thirty and ‘growing up’—for want of a better word—in an environment like this. It’s just *so* different! (F18•T2•4c)

Gender inequalities have not disappeared in the profession, however, but have changed form. The next chapter considers how priorities, practices, and ideologies within the Australian architecture profession continue to form a gendered substructure.

Chapter 9 – The ‘Logic’ of the Architecture Profession and Gender



Illustration 9-1: Photograph Taken by Nick Bassett in One of the Three Partner Firms in 2012.¹

The preceding four chapters have laid out the key aspects of the different dimensions of the gendered substructure as they manifested for each cohort of the architectural professionals in this study. However, mindful of Joan Acker’s assertion that the interrelationship *between* the levels (‘dimensions’ in this dissertation) is most revealing of the gendered substructure,² the focus of this chapter is more on this interrelationship. Furthermore, Kelly Dye and Albert Mills maintain that when each set of processes or practices is considered separately, there is a risk of the framework simply being descriptive.³ They contend that the concept of gendered logic provides a powerful tool for integrating the dimensions, as well as considering the temporal and contextual aspects of the

¹ This photograph was taken as part of the visual research component of the larger “Equity and Diversity” project. Persons featured in this photograph worked for one of the partner firms in 2012, but their appearance here should not be taken as an indication that they were interviewed for this dissertation—the two components of the research were quite separate.

² Joan Acker, “Gendered Organizations and Intersectionality: Problems and Possibilities,” *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal* 31, no. 3 (2012): 216.

³ Kelly Dye and Albert J. Mills, “Pleading the Fifth: Re-Focusing Acker’s Gendered Substructure through the Lens of Organizational Logic,” *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion* 31, no. 3 (2012): 290.

gendered substructure.⁴ Therefore, this chapter considers how the logic of the Australian architecture profession affects multiple dimensions of its social structure, informing and forming the gendered substructure.

In many ways, the architecture profession shares a collection of very similar (and familiar) patterns of gender biases, participation, and processes with other professions and occupations. However, the reasons and justifications for these differ, and these form the logic of the profession. Moreover, some aspects within the implied and unquestioned logic of the architecture profession make it prone for gendering processes to continue and to reproduce gender inequalities. There are three key and overlapping elements to the logic of the profession drawn out of this study that detail the gendered substructure of architecture.

The first element, and first section of the chapter, is what I am calling ‘project devotion.’ Culturally, and structurally, the profession of architecture runs on projects; more deeply, it demands wholehearted and whole-bodied devotion to these projects. Because the body is involved, the consequences of project devotion affect the gendered body. The second element, and second section of the chapter, is competitiveness in the profession. While many studies have noted the competition between firms for projects, internal competition is less discussed, but it has profound implications for women. The third element concerns the claims of equality and merit that dominate the profession. Acker describes assumptions of gender neutrality as pervasive, but asks what activities or practices produce this façade.⁵ Thus, the third and final section of this chapter examines the production of this façade in the Australian architecture profession.

Project Devotion

A British publication on the practice of architecture—which is clearly a popular title, since it is in its tenth edition—asserts the pleasure it offers its practitioners:

Architecture is undoubtedly one of the professions that can be enjoyed. It offers a wealth of interest in a variety of fields which few other professions can match, and provides an emotional satisfaction which only the other arts can stimulate. In order to derive the fullest pleasure from it, architects must devote themselves completely to its study and practice. The more proficient they become and the greater mastery they can acquire, the more complete will be their enjoyment.⁶

⁴ Ibid., 279, 291. Acker initially detailed gendered logic as a fifth process in the framework, but dropped it in subsequent iterations; Joan Acker, “Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations,” *Gender & Society* 4, no. 2 (1990): 146–47.

⁵ Joan Acker, “Gendering Organizational Theory,” in *Gendering Organizational Analysis*, ed. Albert Mills and Peta Tancred (Newbury Park, CA: SAGE Publications, 1992), 255.

⁶ David Chappell, Andrew Willis, Arthur J. Willis, and William Norman Bruce George, *The Architect in Practice*, 10th ed. (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 15.

While written in the context of another country, the sentiments in the above quote would not be markedly different from those espoused in Australia.⁷ Even though few would consider that this statement overtly implicates gender, it nonetheless contains one of the most critical aspects of the profession that can ultimately result in the exclusion of women: namely, one must be completely devoted to architecture. More subtly, if one does not enjoy or receive “emotional satisfaction” from architecture, this is because the devotion is not complete—a construction that shifts onus onto the individual.

Mary Blair-Loy’s discussion on work devotion was introduced in Chapter 3.⁸ She argues that devotion to work is a cultural schema that organises thoughts, beliefs, and emotions towards work as a place to devote time, energy, and passion.⁹ She uses the word ‘devotion,’ rather than ‘commitment’ or ‘interest,’ to emphasise the quasi-religious nature of devotion schemas as articles of faith that provide meaning to life, and argues that devotion to work can have different objects.¹⁰ This dissertation argues that in architecture, the object of devotion is the project. To do architecture is to do projects; it is through projects that a portfolio, a career, and a reputation are built. As one interviewee stated:

I think that you’re taught in architecture school from the very beginning to give it your all for the project. I think that’s our Achilles’ heel. It’s why we create beautiful things, but I think that’s sometimes why we lose money on projects because we give it *so* much. (F03•T4•4a)

In other professions, such as law and medicine, a possible alternate focus for devotion might be clients;¹¹ however, architects serve their clients through their projects.¹² Interviewees spoke of staying in a firm, or leaving it, because of a project; of ambition for a project rather than oneself; of tolerating, if not embracing, long hours, poor pay, and sometimes illegal work conditions because of a project; of allegiance not to the firm but to a project; and of delaying having children to complete a project. Identity was profoundly bound up in projects and all the interviewees spoke of the capacity for, and enjoyment of, deep involvement in a project. Therefore, project devotion is part of the logic of architecture and is fundamental to the profession’s social structure.

⁷ See, for instance, Career Profiles in “Becoming an Architect,” *Australian Institute of Architects*, accessed July 2014, <http://www.architecture.com.au/architecture/national/becoming-an-architect>.

⁸ Page 84 of this thesis.

⁹ Mary Blair-Loy, “Work Devotion and Work Time,” in *Fighting for Time: Shifting Boundaries of Work and Social Life*, ed. Cynthia Fuchs Epstein and Arne L. Kalleberg (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2004), 288, 310. Introduced in Chapter 3.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 288.

¹¹ Weld Coxe, “Charting Your Course: Master Strategies for Organizing and Managing Architecture Firms,” *Architectural Technology* 4, no. 3 (1986).

¹² Dana Cuff, *Architecture: The Story of Practice* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), 195. Other construction professionals and creative workers also have some form of project devotion.

There are a number of strands to project devotion examined in this section. The first is the allure of a project—what makes an architecture project devote-able. The second is the effect on time-use and how justifications for long hours change with career stage. By looking more closely at these arguments, the implications for gender become more obvious. Third is how faith in project devotion can be lost or broken, affecting longevity in the profession. Finally, the effect of project devotion on the body is discussed.

The Allure of the Architecture Project

Blair-Loy describes the central elements of work devotion to be challenging work and exciting opportunities, collegiality and community, and intensity and transcendence.¹³ All of these elements were highlighted by the interviewees in their descriptions of project work. When asked what they enjoyed about architecture work, the interviewees' most frequent answer was diversity, and that this derived from projects. Judith Blau, likewise, argues that the diversity of tasks and projects is important for an architect's sense of job satisfaction and, importantly, commitment.¹⁴ Each project was considered to be different, and the scope of work within each project was described as highly varied:

The projects and work are ever-changing. (F65•T6•1b)

It's actually quite challenging and it's always changing. Projects are similar, but they're always different. (F27•T4•3)

It's completely different every day and the tasks are different every day. (F07•T3•2)

This is a profession where you can never say: "I've got it! Like, I know what I'm doing!" It's scary as well to actually think I may never, ever really know... But that's also exciting too because it's never going to end. (F66•T5•2)

Architecture is *such* a complex profession because you have to know a bit of everything. (F10•T4•3)

Every day is new. (F50•T3•4a)

Interviewees prized diversity and the idea that each day brought new challenges. The challenging nature of the work was discussed in Chapter 7 as the complexity and intrigue of a project, from

¹³ Blair-Loy, "Work Devotion," 294. She also cites financial security and status, but both of these are lesser motivations in architecture.

¹⁴ Judith R. Blau, *Architects and Firms: A Sociological Perspective on Architectural Practice* (Cambridge, MA; London: MIT Press, 1984), 54.

framing design as the intellectual challenge of problem solving to negotiating the myriad complexities of technical requirements, and to the social interactions and relationships involved.¹⁵ This all meant the work of a project was absorbing and exciting:

It's quite all-encompassing, you know. You get into a project and you just get caught up in it. (F39•T3•3)

When you do a big project—until something comes along that almost matches it in complexity—that gives you the adrenalin... [...] It's like being on a bit of a high and then coming back down again. (F10•T4•3)

In addition, there was the attraction of producing something tangible at the end of a project; the interviewees described “seeing a project built” as exciting—one the “great buzzes” of architecture. Valerie Caven and Marie Diop also find that the lasting legacy of a physical building provided a strong sense of achievement for the architects in their studies.¹⁶ Projects, therefore, were a substantial end in themselves:

You can physically see and feel and touch something that you've actually worked hard on. (M02•T5•2)

There's these guys—these big builder-y blokes... you know, boofy guys—who created the thing that was in your head! Like, isn't that an amazing thing? (F45•T4•4a)

You're actually doing something real, as opposed to moving money around... You can see the things you've been working on, see physical evidence of what you've done. (M11•T1•4a)

Jane Sturges records young architects speaking of architecture as a “passion which dominated their lives.”¹⁷ Andrew Brown et al describe junior architects' statements of their commitment or devotion as “cultish.”¹⁸ Similar statements were articulated by the interviewees, and, in particular, describing their engagement with projects and architecture as ‘love.’ More women than men spoke in this way. Expressing love for architecture is identity-affirming because it places architecture at the heart of life:

I absolutely love the project work; I love that you have so many possibilities. (F07•T3•2)

¹⁵ Page 176 of this thesis.

¹⁶ Valerie Caven and Marie Diop, “Architecture: A ‘Rewarding’ Career? An Anglo-French Comparative Study of Intrinsic Rewards in the Architecture Profession,” *Construction Management and Economics* 30, no. 7 (2012): 520.

¹⁷ Jane Sturges, “A Matter of Time: Young Professionals' Experiences of Long Work Hours,” *Work, Employment & Society* 27, no. 2 (2013): 349.

¹⁸ Andrew D. Brown, Martin Kornberger, Stewart R. Clegg, and Chris Carter, “‘Invisible Walls’ and ‘Silent Hierarchies’: A Case Study of Power Relations in an Architecture Firm,” *Human Relations* 63, no. 4 (2010): 537.

I love the energy that is in a good team and a good project. (F520•T4•4a)

I decided to become an architect quite early. [...] I have always loved it. (F36•T5•2)

I find the more I do it, the more I love it, actually. (F64•T2•4a)

Each project was, therefore, perceived to be an opportunity to demonstrate one's passion to others and exercise it for oneself—whatever role an individual might have on the project. There was also a belief that high-devotion would lead to better roles on better projects in the future. Projects were, therefore, providing engagement in a number of ways: an involving process, a substantial end, and a promise into the future. Blair-Loy argues that, in comparison to the excitement, significance, and intensity of work, non-work is often mundane.¹⁹ This was true for many of the interviewees. Additionally, architecture was described as being able to completely permeate life so there might be effectively no non-work.²⁰

This sounds so pathetic—but we love it so much and we love talking about it, and so we want to hang around people that want to talk about it as well. [...] We go travelling; we want to look at architecture. We watch architecture DVDs for fun at night-time. (F40•T3•2)

Architects are seldom 'off'; they automatically scan and assess every place and building they visit, every television programme and movie they watch:

I can't help but notice *everything* about buildings. (F35•T6•1b)

It's your perspective everywhere you go, [...] like, you're noticing things around all the time that others just ignore and don't notice. There's always, everywhere you go, there's elements to appreciate or criticise. You're very actively engaged with the environment wherever you go. (F66•T5•2)

Projects were also spoken of as having intrinsic value, as something worthy of dedication, because of the architect's ability to make "spaces that really work" and are "uplifting" for the people who use them:

It touches me to be able to give that client a gift... a space in which they just can operate really functionally, efficiently, but with really special qualities... just change their life. (F40•T3•2)

It's about producing amazing spaces. (M46•T5•3)

¹⁹ Blair-Loy, "Work Devotion," 307.

²⁰ Noted also by Sturges, "A Matter of Time," 355.

I think the satisfying thing is going beyond an expectation of what something can be in a way, for people... in terms of if it exceeds what they thought it could be. (M11•T1•4a)

Project devotion is a means to “exceed” with a given project, to surprise clients, users, and other architects.²¹ In Chapter 7, the never-ending nature of the design process was discussed;²² one woman described how “you just keep on going and going, until you have a deadline” (F32•T1•4a). There was a prevalent idea across the cohorts of constant striving: that to produce architecture means to do more than what your fellow students are doing, more than what clients might expect, and more than what other architects might do. Architecture, then, is perceived to reside in the extra or the excess, which is one of the reasons that time devotion is a critical part of project devotion.

Time Devotion

The exciting and challenging nature of architecture projects make them ideal arenas for the “knotty problems” that Jonathan Gershuny identifies as the kind of work that produces contemporary high-status “busyness”; the long hours associated with privileged social groups discussed in Chapter 3.²³ That chapter discussed the high time demands of architecture with the requirement to be an ideal worker in order to sustain and grow a career in any profession, and the unpredictable and unlimited time disciplines set by both creative work and the construction industry.²⁴ There are few studies of architecture that do not comment on long hours as the norm, and this study is no different; they have been a recurrent theme in the findings. Chapter 2 (and Appendix B, Table B-5) detailed Census data support for the contention,²⁵ and interviewees in every cohort consistently and emphatically confirmed high time-commitment was required not only in order to be successful, but also to simply to ‘do architecture.’ The arguments offered for the need for a high level of time commitment were many, and varied according to the different stages of an architect’s career.

Time devotion was reported as one of the main lessons of architecture school, since it is impressed on students from the very beginning of their study as a necessary requirement for success in the design studio.²⁶ For those in early career, long hours were described as required for the large amount of learning involved in understanding the complexities of the work of architecture, typically described as a steep learning curve.²⁷ Sturges maintains that professions have time norms and that

²¹ The ambition to produce something new is also identified by Alexander Styhre and Pernilla Gluch, “Creativity and Its Discontents: Professional Ideology and Creativity in Architect Work,” *Creativity and Innovation Management* 18, no. 3 (2009): 228.

²² Page 191 of this thesis.

²³ Page 84 of this thesis

²⁴ Page 84 of this thesis.

²⁵ Page 48 of this thesis.

²⁶ Page 128 of this thesis.

²⁷ Page 135 of this thesis. Also described by young architects in Sturges, “A Matter of Time,” 351.

the young architects she interviewed understood those for architecture to be long.²⁸ In addition, during these years, long hours help to develop professional identity.²⁹

Particularly early in my career, I was pretty obsessive. [...] I probably put in a lot of hours in a short amount of time. [...] Looking back, I probably learned pretty quickly. (M54•T1•4a)

While learning was still deemed important, the highly prized increased responsibility and autonomy for projects (which generally came in the later years of Cohort One and into Cohorts Two and Three) were cited as the prime reasons for working long hours in the middle years of a career.³⁰ The power of the devotion to projects was revealed in how responsibility and time commitment to the project were internalised by the interviewees:

As soon as I have a project with more responsibility and something that really challenges me, I just work long hours. [...] I always thought that it was something positive, really. (F106•T5•2)

It's because of the nature of the work that we do you end up owning a project and you end up staying up late until it's done. (F10•T4•3)

There are some people who have such a sense of responsibility with their project that they're not going to go [home]. (M11•T1•4a)

Those in the later years of their career varied in how they spoke of long hours, depending, in part, on their tier level. Those in Tier 1 generally had heavy workloads and spoke of long hours being essential for the business and the multiple projects they were responsible for.³¹ Other staff in Cohorts Three and Four at Tiers 2 and 3 did not always report working long and late hours.³² However, these claims may not be quite as they seem. Two older men stated that they refused to work long hours, did not consider it necessary, and regarded those asserting the need as wasting time. However, both *did* work extended hours:

No, I don't [do long hours]. Never have, not since the day I began! I start at nine and finish... That said, I now start at seven and leave at six. But I don't stay beyond six unless it's absolutely vital, because to my mind that's somebody else's management problem. (M14•T3•3)

I work the forty hours. As I said, I do a lot of stuff that I have a passion for out of hours. [...] Maybe three or four nights a week, I will take work home. (M13•T2•4c)

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Amanda Coffey cited in *ibid.*, 345.

³⁰ Page 151 of this thesis.

³¹ Page 221 of this thesis.

³² Page 193 of this thesis.

The first interviewee's early morning start was to begin the day on-site with builders, an aspect of project work he enjoyed. The second spoke of the extra hours as being for work that he was passionate about. These men, therefore, divided their work: aspects that were especially enjoyable they did not log on their time-sheets and considered 'not-work'; extended hours were effaced by the rewards.

Others discussed management skills obviating the need for long hours. However, management has an uneasy place in architecture firms, as discussed previously.³³ Therefore, a level of non-management in an office was sometimes regarded as symbolic of an office that valued good design; time was articulated by many to be directly related to quality of design. Some interviewees had worked in firms where hours were regular, and design was not a priority:

They weren't going to spend the extra hours to get the building looking just that little bit more beautiful. (F65•T6•1b)

Others had worked in offices where the focus on design was so acute that time not in the office was regarded with suspicion, and extremely long working hours were expected:

[I left] because of the attitude in many different ways [...] we were more than happy to commit to producing quality work, [but] it doesn't mean we have to be there 24/7! (F59•T4•3)

Others disputed the association of management as counter to good design:

I don't think it makes for better results. I think it often makes for grumpy people who are pissed off. (F64•T2•4a)

There's kind of last-minute work desperately needing to be done, which is how you end up doing the long horrible hours. It's things that could have been addressed earlier if somebody had realised that something had to be done. (F68•T3•4a)

In this last quote, lack of foresight, often caused by the over-busyness of those at senior levels, was a problem. One informant, who had previously worked in another field, argued that long hours were counter-productive because 'burnt-out' architects has a reduced capacity to understand the complexities of a project and consequently took longer to respond (F519•T6•1b).

The embeddedness of time devotion in the profession was also manifest in unofficial work policies. Although the firms had policies regarding overtime and time-off-in-lieu, in a number of offices,

³³ Page 207 of this thesis.

there was an unofficial policy that the first ten hours of time beyond the contracted weekly hours was not considered overtime:

When I started working here, I was told—it's not written down anywhere—but... I was told that the rule was you could get time-off-in-lieu for every hour that you worked over fifty hours a week. [But] my contract is forty hours a week... (F44•T5•2)

It's pretty clear that if it's under two hours [a day], you don't get it. And that's enough to push everyone beyond. You know, two hours a day is another day a week. (M14•T3•3)

Each architect works out an understanding of how the profession works and forms their identity within that understanding. Interviewees consistently articulated the understanding that one should be a project-devotee and demonstrate that through time devotion. This meant that colleagues were sometimes highly judgemental of those who exhibited non-project-devotee behaviour, especially junior colleagues. One described an office where people leaving before six o'clock were "heckled":

They will mutter amongst themselves and give you funny glances if you're supposed to be full time and you're daring to leave after eight hours work. (F23•T2•4b)

One was nervous that normal hours might count against her:

I've raised it in staff appraisals, because I generally don't choose to work crazy hours; I'd leave within the hour of when business would close. And I've said to them, "Is that okay?"³⁴

Repeatedly, interviewees expressed the conviction that architecture could not be done part time (Chapter 7).³⁵ The ideal project-devotee was required to be more than full time and flexible because of the structural and cultural unpredictability and indeterminacy of a project. Consequently, those who worked part time were defensive. One interviewee tried to make up for this by working longer on the days she worked; however, some of those hours were 'invisible':

The problem is, like, I come in early and leave at the normal time. It's assumed you're leaving early, so you always feel guilty. It's crazy, isn't it? (F50•T3•4a)

Part-timers also accepted that lesser-valued work would be the result of their inability to devote to projects through time. In the late 1980s, Rochelle Martin argued that a woman with a family "suffers by seeing herself, as well as by being seen, as not quite a 'real' architect" because of her

³⁴ Interviewee not identified to ensure anonymity.

³⁵ Page 190 of this thesis.

inability to be totally focussed on architecture.³⁶ This appears to still be the case in Australia. One woman described how lucky she felt that, although part-time, she had a significant role in projects, which she had neither expected nor thought possible:

I feel very, very fortunate that I'm doing work that I didn't even hope that I could be doing [working a three-day week], but it's really satisfying and really good projects. (F33•T4•3)

Another manifestation of non-project-devotee behaviour articulated by some interviewees was to be a contract architectural worker.³⁷ Senior managers spoke of being encouraged by their financial officers to employ more people on contract, but there was some resistance to this, with claims that such workers affected the success of a team and the culture of the workplace:

We want people to be fully engaged, and I think when you're on contract, you don't necessarily feel like that. Or if you're a contractor, there's this sort of different attitude. (F45•T4•4a)

It provides a much happier and successful work environment where people know that the person sitting next to them is here because they want to work [here], they want to work on the projects that [the firm] works on—they made a decision to come here. So it provides a much more motivated environment. (F60•T2•3)

To work long hours for money, as a contractor does, is different from working long hours for the love of a project. Given it was women who were most often working part time (Figure 2-13 and Figure 2-12) and might also be working on contract because it provides a flexible way to work (Figure 2-11), it was women who were most likely to breach the standards of project devotion. While Cynthia Epstein et al argue that part-time work among all professionals is stigmatised,³⁸ for architects, that stigmatisation is amplified by project devotion.

Loss of Faith in Project Devotion

Blair-Loy describes the violation of the devotion schema as causing the “rupture of workplace relationships and sense of social and moral betrayal.”³⁹ If faith in the value and rewards of architecture projects is broken, then disillusionment occurs. There are different ways this faith could be broken or lost.

³⁶ Rochelle Martin, “Out of Marginality,” in *Architecture: A Place for Women*, ed. Ellen Perry Berkeley and Matilda McQuaid (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institutional Press, 1989), 232.

³⁷ Some interviewees had begun their careers as contractors paid on an hourly basis. This is a valuable method of staffing for firms as it can deal with fluctuating work-loads, but it is also a means to assess work fit before full employment.

³⁸ Blair-Loy, “Work Devotion,” 284.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 301.

By the time we get to forty, there's the disillusioned group. (M11•T1•4a)

In Chapter 3, a number of studies were discussed that particularly highlighted the dearth of creativity in the day-to-day work of an architect, and how this can lead to disappointment and cynicism.⁴⁰ The interviewees for this study generally incorporated the crafting of a project from all angles into their understanding of creativity and enjoyment of architecture projects, and so a lack of creativity was barely articulated. They were, however, concerned with being locked into being “a cog” or pigeon-holed into routine production or parts of projects.⁴¹ As a consequence, the work might not be experienced as diverse or challenging—or even a project. This was a risk for those in Cohort One and also for some in Cohort Two if nudged into specialisations or other restricted tasks:

When you just get to do really mundane things, like graphic things for people, yeah [...] that's when you start thinking about... somewhere else or something else. (M53•T5•2)

The younger people just were the drafting service really. (F33•T4•3)

Both women and men reported constricted work opportunities. Generally, this was associated with age, with predominantly early-career staff placed in the position of routine or less-rewarding work on “deadbeat” projects. However, those who could not fulfil the time-devotion requirements, such as parents and part-timers, were also affected. Junior staff could hold expectations that the situation might change. Brown et al consider that the promise of a better future allowed young architects to tolerate such work.⁴² However, this study has shown that prospects are more complex for part-timers, who are predominantly women. This was particularly so if they also thought their limited time actually *deserved* poorer-project opportunities (see previous section).

Of more concern to the interviewees than restricted creativity was the loss of outcome expectations; in particular, the loss of faith that architecture could make a difference:

Originally, I thought, you know, you could change the world... maybe not the world, but significantly alter people's perceptions and how to live and do things and interact. (M46•T5•3)

Architectural education and media promote the view that what architects do can positively influence people and their lives by improving the built environment. But some projects that the interviewees had worked on had not lived up to this ideal. The power of external forces (economy, clients, construction industry) to set tight limits impelled compromise and prevented the full exercise of an

⁴⁰ Page 83 of this thesis.

⁴¹ Page 136 of this thesis.

⁴² Brown et al., “Invisible Walls,” 541.

architect's ability.⁴³ The 'real' power of architecture and architects was experienced by some as very limited. Bronwyn Hanna simply states that women leaving the profession may well be exhibiting good sense, as architecture "closely resembles accounting insofar as it operates primarily as a service industry to maximise profits for its clients."⁴⁴ This view represents a loss of faith.

In addition, some kinds of projects were not considered worthy of devotion. In Chapter 8, some interviewees discussed small-scale residential work as not (or no longer) being enjoyable and of a hierarchy in larger-scale projects, some of which were more worthy and interesting than others.⁴⁵

I just hate shopping centres, [...] iterations after iterations that will probably get nowhere. So I had to leave, it was just too monotonous. (M53•T5•2)

If you're going to be stuck on a deadbeat job [...] Gone! (M14•T3•3)

I'm in the middle of my first experience of a build. It's just one problem after another and very negative and tiring. (F701•T5•2)

And you can work really hard for a long time for something that doesn't mean very much. (F45•T4•4a)

Furthermore, the lack of respect for architects, previously discussed,⁴⁶ also meant one's devotion was not always acknowledged within the wider construction industry. Again, this led to questioning as to whether working in architecture was worth it. Because women tended to have their competency on-site more frequently challenged, they were more vulnerable to this kind of faith loss.

Difficult team dynamics on a project and the scale of time required could also test faith:

It takes years. [...] I know now that my time is going to be directed into this project and I know that I'm going to [work with] that person, this person and this person; that one is unbearable, that one is fantastic, this one... I know this is my life for the next three years, so that's what makes this life quite hard. (F62•T3•4b)

Some projects are extraordinarily demanding and very abrasive and you get some very stressful situations. (M37•T2•4b)

⁴³ Page 74 of this thesis.

⁴⁴ Bronwyn Hanna, "Three Feminist Analyses of the Built Environment," *Architectural Theory Review* 1, no. 1 (1996): 24.

⁴⁵ Page 203 of this thesis.

⁴⁶ Page 188 of this thesis.

Loss of faith can also arise because of economic conditions. Low pay in the profession for the hours worked was cited by many as a compounding factor for losing faith.⁴⁷ One senior man also spoke of how people who devoted themselves to projects through long hours usually advanced in the office, but:

Sometimes they get retrenched when times are bad, and they're massively disillusioned because they've contributed that... done what they thought would be necessary to secure their position. And yet, despite that, still been retrenched. (M41•T1•4c)

Blair-Loy regards retrenchment as a betrayal of “cherished social-professional ties.”⁴⁸ Additionally, economically driven competitive fee-cutting was sometimes found to have a profound effect on how architecture could be practiced:

When you start getting projects where the DA [development application—the initial design] has to be done in two weeks or three weeks... Well, we all grew up that DA is *the* design philosophy, design process that may take a couple of months. [...] [Instead], they are churned out. But look at the consequence! [...] It hasn't been done properly. (M13•T2•4c)

For some, this situation would be too big a compromise of their belief in architecture and lead to a loss of project-devotion faith, or, at the very least, faith in that particular architecture firm.

So if there's a disparity between your core value and your office's core value, or what you've experienced in industry, I can see why you'd leave. (F45•T4•4a)

Project Devotion and the Body

Critically, project devotion involves a wholehearted engagement:

Once [architects] get absorbed into something, they'll put their heart and soul into it. (F926•T1•3)

This is also a whole-bodied engagement. In Garry Stevens' terms, ‘being’ an architect involves the full body in the ongoing accumulation of embodied cultural capital critical for architects.⁴⁹ As discussed in Chapter 3, this accumulation adheres to the physical body.⁵⁰ Consequently, project devotion has implications for the body. Some interviewees reported having left offices where

⁴⁷ Some of the reasons for loss of faith match those for why women leave architecture in Ann de Graft-Johnson, Sandra Manley, and Clara Greed, *Why Do Women Leave Architecture?* (Bristol: Royal Institute of British Architects, University of West England, 2003), 3, www.riba.org/fileLibrary/pdf/WWLAFinalreportJune03.pdf.

⁴⁸ Blair-Loy, “Work Devotion,” 307.

⁴⁹ Garry Stevens, “Struggle in the Studio: A Bourdivin Look at Architectural Pedagogy,” *Journal of Architectural Education* 49, no. 2 (1995): 112.

⁵⁰ Discussed page 91 of this thesis.

working very long hours was expected, and, while appreciative of some aspects, described not being able to physically and mentally continue this way due to exhaustion and stress:

Keeping up those hours, you know, I couldn't do it anymore. (F28•T6•1)

It was very hard. He [Tier 1] actually sent me to a breakdown. It was just really tough. [...] So you kind of take it and cop it, and just keep working until you couldn't do it anymore. (F10•T4•3)

I was doing, you know, easily twelve hours a day, five or six days a week, and this was going on for months and months—just really, really just exhausting. (F34•T1•4b)

I think when you're in the middle of it [a project] you kind of forget what normal life is like. [...] People just work, work, work... it builds up, and builds up, and builds up, and they just get really disillusioned. (F44•T5•2)

It was chaotic and crazy [...] It was a very hard process and I... to be honest, I couldn't work there any longer. (M67•T3•3)

For some interviewees, at times, the stressful mental challenge and demand of projects was only mitigated by their love of the profession:

I think you've got to love it. I couldn't do it if I didn't love it. (F18•T2•4c)

I love it. But, yeah, most of the time, you think, no, it is not worth it. (F50•T3•4a)

These quotes characterise architecture as an ongoing love, but one that is not always required. For some, the love of projects was faltering:

I say, every now and then, "Just make me a Woollies' check-out chick." I mean, the thing about architecture is all the deadlines, and you have to take it home with you. And I guess sometimes that's just unrelenting. (F09•T3•4c)

Projects are not very forgiving, you know, when you have deadlines and you have pressures. [...] I got a bit tired. I lost the love a little bit, I think, for projects. I found it kind of relentless—architecture—the amount of drawings, and the intensity of it. (F03•T4•4a)

To lose the love of projects, to find them relentless, is akin to becoming an apostate. For the above interviewee, there was also a competing devotion schema with "moral and emotional claims"⁵¹—

⁵¹ Blair-Loy, "Work Devotion," 308.

that of family devotion. Such a devotion held different rewards that might compensate for the diminishing ones of architectural projects,⁵² it also provides a different identity.

You've got these small children and you want to spend time with them [...] and that starts to weigh out over this. What *is* this? What are you actually getting out of *this*? (F64•T2•4a)

A primary characteristic of project devotion is that it is effectively indivisible:

So [working] full time or going four days a week has just been too much. I just can't do it. I can't be divided that many times, you know, there's not enough of me. (F33•T4•3)

I thought, I'm no good at architecture, I'm no good at home, I'm not a good partner... Because you try to divide and find your feet and how to best split your[self] to fit all kind of hats. (F12•T5•2)

The mixed metaphors in this last quote describe the pull of architecture against that of motherhood as being almost physical. To use the body that should (under the terms of project devotion) be committed to architecture projects to produce children generated a powerful conflict among women architects with ongoing consequences—including the association of architect meaning bad parent, as described by Despina Stratigakos.⁵³

To lose faith in the project devotion schema is to lose one of the more powerful ways of constructing meaning, purpose, and identity in the profession. Both women and men might experience loss of faith, but, because devotion in architecture demands the whole body, it has typically been the female body that, over time, becomes more problematic. Both the potential for motherhood, and motherhood itself, signalled to others and to women themselves that they would not be able to practice project devotion in the accepted manner. This particular logic of the profession generates everyday practices and understandings that render the body important and the female body less fit. It organises the profession along gendered lines, and forms a critical part of its gendered substructure.

Competition

The second element of the logic of architecture revealed in the research is the high levels of competition in the profession. Some competition was external—between firms—and some internal. Garry Stevens argues that, as with any field, architecture is inherently competitive, as individuals

⁵² Described in Kerstin Thompson, "Hit and Miss," *Parlour*, April 20, 2012, <http://archiparlour.org/hit-and-miss/>.

⁵³ Page 92 of this thesis.

struggle for control of not just material resources (such as sufficient projects to keep the practice viable) but also symbolic resources (including reputation and the ability to set the rules of value).⁵⁴ The contested nature of those symbolic values, described previously, intensifies the precarious nature of the competitive field of architecture.

This section begins by looking at external competition. It then considers internal competition, the systems of attrition for removing competition, and how the profession obscures these high levels.

External Competition

Among others, Bridget Fowler and Fiona Wilson describe the architecture profession in the UK as “highly competitive.”⁵⁵ Similarly in Australia, because architects have not been able to secure market closure, their firms compete not only with each other but also with other building professionals for projects.⁵⁶ Because of the construction industry’s close dependence on the economy, the intensity of competition is also strongly affected by the health of the economy.⁵⁷ At the time of conducting this study, the tight economy had led to too many architectural firms chasing too few projects, which had caused some firms to under-cut fees to capture more work:

A client in this day and age, unless it’s very specialised, will hunt around. Even nursing homes now are more competitive. (F19•T2•3)

I think one of our biggest kind of enemies, is each other... the competing firms, yeah. We’re our own worst enemies because we’re undercutting each other all the time. (F926•T1•3)

All good, as long as everything’s going along well and you’re winning work. But when the work slows down, that’s when it can get ugly. (M54•T1•4a)

Moreover, there were a number of comments in interviews, and overheard, of architects “bitching” about each other, attacking another firm’s or architect’s design integrity and ability. (Notably, the language for such attacks was gendered.) Just as women fighting among themselves is (in Joan

⁵⁴ Garry Stevens, *The Favored Circle: The Social Foundations of Architectural Distinction* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998), Chapter 3.

⁵⁵ Bridget Fowler and Fiona Wilson, “Women Architects and Their Discontents,” *Sociology* 38, no. 1 (2004): 109. Likewise Laurie Cohen, Adrian Wilkinson, John Arnold, and Rachael Finn, “‘Remember I’m the Bloody Architect!’: Architects, Organizations and Discourses of Profession,” *Work, Employment & Society* 19, no. 4 (2005): 786; Graham Winch and Eric Schneider, “Managing the Knowledge-Based Organization: The Case Study of Architectural Practice,” *Journal of Management Studies* 30, no. 6 (1993): 927.

⁵⁶ Page 72 of this thesis. See also Ashly Pinnington and Timothy Morris, “Transforming the Architect: Ownership Form and Archetype Change,” *Organization Studies* 23, no. 2 (2002): 190; Stephen Emmitt, “Architectural Management—An Evolving Field,” *Engineering, Construction and Architectural Management* 6, no. 2 (1999): 189.

⁵⁷ Page 75 of this thesis.

Williams' view) evidence of gender bias,⁵⁸ so too might architects fighting among themselves be seen as evidence of stresses around their lack of power within the construction industry and in relation to clients.

In addition to undercutting fees, a number of interviewees in Tier 1 spoke of the ease with which it was possible to lose money on projects by “blowing out” the hours due to the unpredictable nature of design and construction, and the cultural imperative and determination to perfect the design. One of the ways that firms dealt with this level of competition and risk of hours-overrun was to co-opt the eagerness of graduates to take on responsibility.⁵⁹ At a lower pay level, with the desire to work long hours (to demonstrate project devotion) and usually the ability to do so, early- to mid-career architects are able to help the viability of an office. Dana Cuff observes that this is a tactic long-used by architectural firms.⁶⁰ One senior man had a contradictory view of such staff, first calling their devotion crazy, and then acknowledging that the firm took advantage of such devotion in order to complete work:

Some people are just crazy and they just work because... they work long hours because they think architecture is a calling and it warrants it and everything else is second and they end up burning out. [...] It does sometimes come back to fees, because we sell time, and if we budget a certain amount of time on a project and you run out, then you sort of rely on the team sometimes to help with their own time to make the project stay within the budget. (M37•T2•4b)

Those in Cohorts One and Two, who usually constituted the team, were not unaware that their long hours were supporting the firms and managers were taking advantage of their project devotion. But, at the same time, they colluded as a means of achieving advancement, both career-wise and to increase their project experience:

Because the fees that have been agreed are so low, there is pressure on the staff then to work overtime to basically make up the hours without having to charge the client. No one ever specifically says that, but that's what's happening. [...] There's different ways that I could put myself in a good position to get those things [promotion], and one of them would be to make sure that my projects are profitable.⁶¹

This business strategy to deal with external competition meant that those not able, or willing, to devote to projects were disadvantaged, and these were usually women, as the previous section

⁵⁸ Joan Williams and Rachel Dempsey, *What Works for Women at Work: Four Patterns Working Women Need to Know* (New York: New York University Press, 2014), 180.

⁵⁹ Page 154 of this thesis.

⁶⁰ Cuff, *Architecture*, 53.

⁶¹ Interviewee not identified to ensure anonymity.

detailed. Moreover, if there was continued reliance on “the team to help with their own time,” this led to burn-out and potential loss of project devotion.

Finally, men held a competitive edge when it came to relating to the wider construction industry, including client bodies. Because these groups were predominantly male-dominated, homosociality meant the men would not just socialise together (discussed in Chapter 8),⁶² but tended to trust other men before women. Blair-Loy describes men—particularly those with power, such as clients—having a “baseline distrust” of the competency of women.⁶³

You look at who’s involved in the meetings, and all the decisions, and it’s generally always men. [...] And I just feel or perceive other men of a similar age and position would be able to deal with them better. (F28•T6•1b)

Particularly when you are talking with aggressive builders [...] you know, maybe it *does* help [being male]. (M46•T5•3)

While external competition was often spoken about, the internal competition was less frequently articulated by the interviewees.

Internal Competition: Obscuring and Systems of Attrition

Internal competition is consistently present throughout the process of becoming and being an architect. High levels of competition potentially have implications for women because competition has traditionally been coded ‘masculine,’ part of the agentic orientation attributed to men.⁶⁴ Competition levels in architecture are obscured in a number of ways, and ‘hidden’ systems of attrition alleviate its intensity. As with external competition, the intensity varies with the economic cycle—during boom periods internal competition is considerably less, although sought-after roles are always fought over.

Competition begins at architecture school and dominates it to the extent that Stevens calls it an enduring value of architectural education.⁶⁵ Cuff describes the build-up to a project’s completion as a particularly “competitive arena.”⁶⁶ Such competition is used as a pedagogical device to improve quality. Typically, those who are unable, or unwilling, to submit to the strict and all-consuming

⁶² Page 221 of this thesis.

⁶³ Mary Blair-Loy, “It’s Not Just What You Know, It’s Who You Know: Technical Knowledge, Rainmaking, and Gender among Finance Executives,” *Research in the Sociology of Work* 10 (2001).

⁶⁴ Alice H. Eagly and Linda L. Carli, *Through the Labyrinth: The Truth About How Women Become Leaders* (Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press, 2007), 86.

⁶⁵ Stevens, *The Favored Circle*, 203.

⁶⁶ Cuff, *Architecture*, 128.

ethos of studio project devotion have dropped out, forming the reasonably high attrition rate demonstrated in Figure 2-2; an attrition that also reduces competition. This intensity of competition between students was balanced—or, more accurately, obscured—by the camaraderie within the studio, where strong friendships were forged.⁶⁷ Interviewees recalled this enjoyment from their years of study, not the competition.

Competition continues into the profession, with employment opportunities being limited by the high numbers of graduates (Figure 2-5). The two mechanisms that help alleviate this over-supply were discussed in Chapter 5: the first was the gap between the study and practice of architecture;⁶⁸ the second is the cultural notion that an architecture degree can lead to other career paths.⁶⁹ According to the data in Chapter 2, both options appear to be utilised by more women than men. Over-supply also affects those with more experience, as reported by the interviewees:

Offices think staff are disposable. [...] If any of us said we were leaving, they'd just think: well, right, OK, we'll just get someone else in, pay them a bit less. (F44•T5•2)

I felt at [a particular firm, the attitude was], if you are not happy, you know what, there are other architects around. (F51•T5•3)

Competition for positions had also encouraged people to work long hours in order to appear to be more valuable members of staff—as well as project devotees. More recently, more senior employees had been affected by changing technologies and, being more senior, were more expensive and could not compete with graduates:

Going to BIM [building information management software] now means you've got a whole range of different skills that people need to have. [...] Older staff members don't have those skills and there's a lot of younger people coming through with [them]. (M11•T1•4a)

You don't need the same sort of people and skills now that you used to. You have this strata of people in the office who are less useful and more highly paid than the strata of recent graduates. (M37•T2•4b)

Because of the age profile of the profession, this affected men more than women, and undoubtedly contributed to the loss of men over the age of forty-five from the profession visible in Figure 2-9.

⁶⁷ Page 130 of this thesis.

⁶⁸ Page 132 of this thesis.

⁶⁹ Page 134 of this thesis.

The traditional career trajectory of an architect sees people leave and set up their own firms, which relieves internal office competition. However, this has the potential consequence of increasing the number of firms competing for projects.

Fowler and Wilson's interviewees described the profession a "back-stabbing" one.⁷⁰ While the Australian interviewees (particularly those among the senior cohorts) commented on overinflated egos sometimes being a problem in some offices, they did not discuss their experiences *within* their firms in such terms. However, Chapter 7 outlined the competition for titled positions and the trusted positions of running projects.⁷¹

It's more attractive working on the high designing jobs and everyone's always battling to do that and work for the [Tier 1s] with the most interesting jobs. (F09•T3•4c)

Few acknowledged this directly as competition, but did note comments and incidents, which were effectively the use of tactics to reduce competition or that removed one from competition. Specialisation was one tactic, and one that more women interviewees than men utilised, as discussed in Chapter 7.⁷² Others spoke of a sabotaging of confidence, often internalised rather than attributed to others, but it could be a result of exclusion:

When we're putting together submissions [for projects], sometimes it seems to be the same people getting put down for those submissions to work on them eventually. And when you're doing the submission and you're putting other people's names down all the time and yours isn't going on there... yeah. (F16•T5•2)

The vulnerability of architects to doubting their design ability is a product of the instability of what constitutes good design, but can also be seen as a strategy that reduces internal competition. Doubt could affect both women and men, but the women interviewed more frequently articulated it. In addition, since coveted positions were trusted positions, levels of homosociality had the potential to impact on women attaining these roles. However, once a level of trust had been established, "having a history" with a senior person meant a privileged position:

I think what happens is that you develop an understanding of people's capacities and what they're good at. And if you can almost work in short-hand when you work with someone that you've worked with before, you don't have to reinvent the wheel each time. (F39•T3•3)

⁷⁰ Fowler and Wilson, "Women Architects," 109.

⁷¹ Page 180 of this thesis.

⁷² Page 179 of this thesis.

You're a mind-reader in lots of ways, too. So it's not always that everything is verbalised.
(F50•T3•4a)

Loss of project devotion was a more subtle mechanism to relieve high levels of internal competition, as disillusionment in later career caused architects to leave not just firms but the profession. These mechanisms disproportionately affected women, as discussed in the previous section. In addition (and more cynically), young women might be seen as very valuable to an office. They would work hard for perhaps ten years as observed in Chapters 5 and 6 (and also by Caven et al),⁷³ and then, if they had children, they might either become part-time (removing themselves from competing for particular and choice roles) or leave the firms (relieving internal competition).

For the interviewees, these high levels of internal competition were almost completely obscured by the degree of collaboration involved in practising architecture and the consequent camaraderie. Collaboration is part of the social aspect of architectural practice that many of the interviewees enjoyed and formed part of the allure of project devotion.⁷⁴

I guess, intellectually, that's what I really like in architecture; because it's got the scientific and the functional and the creative and the problem-solving, and a whole lot of different, really smart people in different ways coming together. (F34•T1•4b)

The enjoyment of collaborative working and sharing project devotion with others led one interviewee to describe the office environment as “warm and fuzzy,” while another likened it to “a family.”⁷⁵ As discussed in the previous section, this collective intimacy could be rudely shattered when economic forces split ‘the family’ through redundancy, or reduced ability to practice. In addition, camaraderie involves group dynamics and homosocial groupings that have the potential to include some and exclude others. While inclusion might be based on a range of factors, including shared schooling, social background, class, and design sensibility, gender is another factor limiting access to ‘in’ groups.

Joyce Fletcher argues that communal modes of interaction, such as collaboration (often associated with women), can result in ‘feminine’ interactions, and these have the potential to disrupt competitive and hierarchical work cultures.⁷⁶ Rather than disrupt the competition within the firms, the “warmth and fuzziness” of collaboration appears to obscure it. This contributes to a sense that

⁷³ Valerie Caven, Elena Navarro-Astor, and Marie Diop, “A Cross-National Study of Accommodating and ‘Usurpatory’ Practices by Women Architects in the UK, Spain and France,” *Architectural Theory Review* 17, no. 2–3 (2012): 372.

⁷⁴ Page 178 of this thesis.

⁷⁵ Sturges also finds young architects spoke positively of their work environment being family-like; Sturges, “A Matter of Time,” 353.

⁷⁶ Cited in Dana M. Britton, “The Epistemology of the Gendered Organization,” *Gender and Society* 14, no. 3 (2000): 429.

the effects of competition reside with the individual and in the individual dimensions of the profession, rather than structural or cultural ones. This helps mask the gendered effects of competition and that competition contributes to the gender substructure.

Claims of Equality and Merit

When questioned about why women were not numerous in the profession, the interviewees' responses tended to follow a pattern. Having children was thought to be the primary reason and was frequently stated. Some interviewees then further speculated that external relations with the construction industry might have an impact. Both of these were significant, but variable, factors in the production of gender imbalances, as the previous chapters have attested. However, both result from the taken-for-granted logics of the profession that have gendered dimensions: first, project devotion, which renders mothers inadequate devotees; and second, the competitive construction industry, that promotes homosociality, which can, for some women, be limiting.

Otherwise, interviewees typically proffered no other reasons. Instead, most claimed that equality and merit were the basis for career progression within the office and formation of architectural reputation, and that gender was 'done' in a way that did not produce inequity. These claims are examined in this section, along with the counter-claim of the framing of the profession as 'masculine.'

The Assumption of Gender Equality

Yvonne Benschop and Hans Doorewaard describe a widespread acceptance in general society that gender equality has been achieved to the extent that it is a dominant norm.⁷⁷ Acker argues that the idea of gender neutrality helps to obscure the gendered substructure.⁷⁸ In addition, she maintains that organisations commonly do not see gender inequalities; they might exist, but "somewhere else."⁷⁹ The Australian architects interviewed were little different, with a general position that gender did not impact on careers in architecture—motherhood did, but not gender per se.

Consequently, when the paucity of women at higher levels was pointed out to them, they described it as being puzzling:

⁷⁷ Yvonne Benschop and Hans Doorewaard, "Covered by Equality: The Gender Subtext of Organizations," *Organization Studies* 19, no. 5 (1998). Also page 97 of this thesis.

⁷⁸ Acker, "Gendering Organizational Theory," 258.

⁷⁹ Joan Acker, "From Glass Ceiling to Inequality Regimes," *Sociologie du Travail* 51, no. 2 (2009): 211.

But we don't have as many [senior] female architects... And why is that? I don't know why that is, because, I mean, we're not... [...] It's not that we've lost them, it's just that we didn't have them to start with. (F926•T1•3)

[It's] very bizarre, because up until this point, I've been surrounded by women who were brilliant. And suddenly, they're not there. [...] That's one of the things that mystifies me. It's like: if I can do this, there's half a dozen women that I know that can do this too. (F64•T2•4a)

Isn't that odd? Yeah. And it's not through any intent of ours to suppress women to that... It's just that no suitable candidate has come up who has wanted to persevere and stay in the practice. (M41•T1•4c)

This last quote raises an issue that complicates much of the research into careers for women: that of choice—no woman had chosen to continue in the firm. As discussed in Chapter 3, when the lack of women in an occupation or level is explained in terms of choice, all contextual dimensions (namely, structural and cultural) are erased.⁸⁰ If it can be argued that women leave architecture firms or the profession by choice, then gender imbalance is not the responsibility of either, but of the women in question. But that choice is made within contexts that are highly competitive, where women's technical knowledge is questioned, design ability confidence easily undermined, and the all-important project devotion doubted if they have a child. There are numerous complexities and constraints around the idea of choice.

In addition, Acker cites research that argues that some gendered practices are fleeting, and describes processes whereby gender might first appear relevant but then circumstances become obscured by other factors.⁸¹ In effect, gender is seldom a single contributing factor, and very often interacts with the complicated economic, political, and social imperatives that control much of the work of the architecture profession. Fowler and Wilson state that the women architects they interviewed tended to articulate explanations for their position that avoided gender discrimination scenarios.⁸² As such, bias due to gender is able to be obscured, and then dismissed as not existing.

The assumption of gender equality within the offices and the attribution of the lack of women in senior positions to choice or factors other than gender is also part of a wider societal belief that meritocracy is the foundation of success and achievement in architecture, and thus is discussed next.

⁸⁰ Page 96 of this thesis.

⁸¹ Acker, "From Glass Ceiling," 211.

⁸² Fowler and Wilson, "Women Architects," 115. Likewise, Valerie Caven, "Choice, Diversity and 'False Consciousness' in Women's Careers," *International Journal of Training and Development* 10, no. 1 (2006).

The Assumption of Merit

Ruth Sealy maintains that the idea that an individual's career advancement is based on merit is a fundamental belief in modern societies.⁸³ It is widely accepted and culturally understood to be the way the world both should and does work.⁸⁴ Despite the confidence people place in meritocracy, its validity is strongly challenged—Margaret Thornton simply calls merit a mirage.⁸⁵ She argues that any evaluation of merit is made by fallible people who are a product of their culture.⁸⁶ Consequently, the criteria and tests used to measure and assess merit are unable to be free of conscious and unconscious bias.⁸⁷ While all merit evaluations are subjective, merit is even more tenuous in architecture because of the contested and subjective nature of the judgement of architectural value.⁸⁸ Sealy concludes that “merit appeared to be less defined by human capital (ability and experience) and more by social capital (seen as political behaviour).”⁸⁹ This was visible in the interviewees' firms:

Promotions are rarely made on merit! I would make that statement *very* strongly. [...] It tends to be merit-based the lower you get. At the lower end, when it's just going from being contractor to permanent, that is always merit-based. And then from the next level up to [Tier 3], it starts getting a little bit [...] strategic... it starts to get a little bit more shaky, (F23·T2·4b)

However, apart from this emphatic statement, those in management argued that the distribution of opportunities and promotions were based solely on merit. Others saw such appointments as subjective, but the subjectivity was generally based on anything *but* gender, such as personality, the economy, how one got on with those in Tier 1, and how long and hard one worked (as discussed in Chapter 6).⁹⁰ Gender interacts with all these elements, particularly in terms of the perception of the individual, since, as discussed in Chapter 3, the same behaviour performed by a woman is perceived differently than when performed by a man.⁹¹

Over one interview, it was possible to track how principles of merit were asserted and then subsequently weakened:

⁸³ Ruth Sealy, “Changing Perceptions of Meritocracy in Senior Women's Careers,” *Gender in Management: An International Journal* 25, no. 3 (2010): 184.

⁸⁴ Emilio J. Castilla and Stephen Benard, “The Paradox of Meritocracy in Organizations,” *Administrative Science Quarterly* 55, no. 4 (2010): 543.

⁸⁵ Margaret Thornton, “The Mirage of Merit: Reconstituting the ‘Ideal Academic’,” *Australian Feminist Studies* 28, no. 76 (2013).

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 129. Also Ruth Simpson, Anne Ross-Smith, and Patricia Lewis, “Merit, Special Contribution and Choice,” *Gender in Management: An International Journal* 25, no. 3 (2010): 199.

⁸⁷ Leanne Son Hing et al. cited in Sealy, “Changing Perceptions of Meritocracy,” 186.

⁸⁸ Page 181 of this thesis.

⁸⁹ Sealy, “Changing Perceptions of Meritocracy,” 184.

⁹⁰ Page 159 of this thesis.

⁹¹ Page 77 of this thesis.

It's a meritocracy: you succeed based on your own success, and I think people are genuinely fairly rewarded and progressed for what they do. [...] It's about many things, and sometimes it's about potential rather than achievement. [...] There are no tick-boxes that can be filled out, completed, some of it's X factor. [...] They've upset somebody or whatever.⁹²

This interviewee begins with a firm declaration about merit, followed by a qualification that there are more aspects involved. From the discussions in Chapter 3, these aspects are familiar as those where gender can impact: potential means men are placed ahead because they are usually given this benefit and women are not;⁹³ lack of transparency and formal processes (tick-boxes) typically disadvantages women and minorities;⁹⁴ and 'X factor' allows personal social relationships to be dominant, potentially ushering in homo-social reproduction.⁹⁵ This descriptive sequence was reasonably typical.

The assumptions of merit and of gender equality offered in the interviews together served to mask the gendered substructure of the Australian architecture profession, portraying it as gender neutral. But buried within interviewee descriptions and the observations of the workplace were signs that the profession is constructed as masculine.

Constructing Architecture as 'Masculine'

While few interviewees acknowledged gender as a factor impacting on the daily lives of women in architecture, projects and the work of architecture were often spoken about using what Acker calls "metaphors of masculinity."⁹⁶ These ranged from descriptions of learning by being "thrown in the deep end"⁹⁷ to descriptions of the difficulties of the architecture business, using words such as "tough," "rough," and "brutal":

There's such an imbalance too between the size of an architecture firm and the size of our clients, which could be huge big [developers], then the little architect down here tends to get beaten up a lot. (F926•T1•3)

We get pounded! And everybody's there working ridiculous hours and churning it out and working to this ridiculous budget and ridiculous program. (F323•T2•3)

⁹² Interviewee not identified to ensure anonymity.

⁹³ Page 77 of this thesis. Joan Williams, "The Glass Ceiling and the Maternal Wall in Academia," *New Directions for Higher Education* 2005, no. 130 (2005): 94.

⁹⁴ Dana M. Britton and Laura Logan, "Gendered Organizations: Progress and Prospects," *Sociology Compass* 2, no. 1 (2008): 116–17.

⁹⁵ Louise Marie Roth, "Bringing Clients Back In: Homophily Preferences and Inequality on Wall Street," *The Sociological Quarterly* 45, no. 4 (2004).

⁹⁶ Acker, "Gendering Organizational Theory," 253.

⁹⁷ Page 139 of this thesis.

It's a rough business; you get beaten up a lot. Why wouldn't you get out of it? (M408•T1•4c)

It was tough. You had to be tough to be an architect [there]. (F03•T4•4a)

To make these big projects move and swing, it requires some grunt and some guts. (F03•T4•4a)

Some workplaces and situations were described explicitly in terms that gained their power from gender distinction:

We need a strong leader for that project because the project manager's being a dick. A has got rolled a couple of times. B warned us about him, and was right: he's been a dick. (Meeting notes)

One woman described working in a competitive and “very tough” firm where, in her words, “you had to have balls” to survive. Another woman used similar language to describe her actions after finding out that another person in the same role was earning much more than her: “Well, I grew some balls and asked them for a raise.” ‘Having balls’ is a common expression for indicating courage; however, by drawing on male biology, the male body is naturalised as the normal location for such courage and not the female body. Such words and phrases construct working in architecture as patterned in terms of a hierarchical distinction between masculine and feminine.

It also gender-types the architecture profession as ‘masculine’ and implies that an architect requires masculine characteristics.⁹⁸ Following R. W. Connell, Katherine Sang et al maintain that these characteristics include being macho, tough, and competitive.⁹⁹ They argue that the profession's norms favour those with these characteristics.¹⁰⁰ In response, women have sometimes emulated male behaviour, particularly historically:

Most women had to be like that, demanding things [...] being almost quite aggressive and almost quite masculine and aggressive to demand the respect. (F23•T2•4b)

It is possible that the emphasis on toughness is also a response to the somewhat feminised nature of architectural work. This was discussed in Chapter 3 in terms of the gender ambiguity of the artistic-genius and less-macho masculinity of the gentleman-architect.¹⁰¹ Mats Alvesson, in a study of creative work in an advertising agency, notes that not only did creativity signal “feminine,” but also

⁹⁸ Britton, “The Epistemology of the Gendered Organization,” 424.

⁹⁹ Katherine Sang, Andrew Dainty, and Stephen Ison, “Gender in the UK Architectural Profession: (Re)Producing and Challenging Hegemonic Masculinity,” *Work, Employment & Society* 28, no. 2 (2014): 3.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹⁰¹ Page 95 of this thesis.

the relationship with clients was subservient and therefore arguably “feminine.”¹⁰² There is a similar relationship between architects and their clients. In addition, what was observable in this study was the work needed to ensure the success of a project—particularly on-site, but also through the design process—involved pre-empting problems and resolving them, sometimes before clients and contractors knew they existed. This work was behind-the-scenes and largely invisible, and therefore not always valued. (“Oh, it’s just a drawing. That’s easy, you can do that. Why are you charging me so much for something like that!?” (F926•T1•3)) It involved protecting and nurturing a project and putting its needs before any personal needs—the key to project devotion. As such, it complies with what Fletcher argues are ‘feminine’ relational practices, in that such work is expected of women. She calls this type of task-focussed relational practice “preserving,” and maintains it involves skills, “including the ability to think contextually, anticipate consequences, and sense the emotional context of situations in order to recognise and take action.”¹⁰³

To emphasise the tough and competitive nature of the profession in relation to the construction industry is therefore to shift perceptions away from the lesser-valued and arguably ‘feminine’ aspects of architecture work. It is to pattern the profession in terms of a hierarchical distinction between masculine and feminine.¹⁰⁴ It is, consequently, part of the gendered substructure.

Conclusion

Particular ways that the architecture profession organises itself, learned through the enculturation process at architecture school and continued into the workforce, contribute to its gendered logic. Chief among these is project devotion. Culturally, it dominates how architects speak of their careers and identity, and how they interact with others in the workplace. Structurally, it is difficult to understand how architecture might be practiced without it. It constitutes a priority, practice, and ideology in the profession. While there might be instances of resistance, the main tenets of project devotion set norms that are ultimately gendered because, as this chapter has shown, they impact differentially on the gendered body, favouring that of the male. Consequently, careers for women in architecture are hindered.

While the project-based structure of the architecture profession has a pragmatic logic to it that can be taken to extremes by the culture of devotion, the high levels of internal competition are less obvious, but nonetheless have an important impact. These levels are masked by the communal

¹⁰² Mats Alvesson, “Gender Relations and Identity at Work: A Case Study of Masculinities and Femininities in an Advertising Agency,” *Human Relations* 51, no. 8 (1998).

¹⁰³ Joyce K. Fletcher, *Disappearing Acts: Gender, Power and Relational Practice at Work* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999), 55.

¹⁰⁴ Acker, “Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies,” 146.

aspects of practice, particularly in large firms. Projects run on teams based on social relationships and devotion. Any move to protest gender-bias risks an individual being considered neither a team-player nor a true devotee, consequently ruling them out of competition. In addition, bias is easily disguised by other factors; multiple systems of attrition reduce competition, with most of them appearing to work more strongly on women, removing them from the running.

As in other professions, occupations, and workplaces, those in the architecture profession see it as a meritocracy and many assume that gender equity has been achieved. However, as a result, important causes of inequity are concealed and discounted.¹⁰⁵ Together, the concepts of project-devotion, competition veiled by the communality of practice, and assumption of merit tend to obscure the gendered nature of outcomes in the profession and so continue to privilege men. Evidence of gender impacting on the profession comes through these aspects as well as the framing of profession as tough, implying that only the tough can forge careers.

¹⁰⁵ Stephen J. McNamee and Robert K. Miller, Jr., "The Meritocracy Myth," *Sociation Today* 2, no. 1 (2004). Unpaginated.

Chapter 10 – Conclusion

Architecture is one of the most influential professions in our global society. A career in architecture offers opportunities to shape, perhaps even transform the environment in which we live.

Australian Institute of Architects (AIA)¹

The career in architecture described by the AIA above is not easily accomplished, particularly by women. In her 2005 study on women's career progression in the architecture profession in Australia, Paula Whitman speculated that what happens for women in other professions also happens in architecture.² This was borne out by the research in this study; in many respects, the architecture profession is little different from other professions. However, architecture often manifests those patterns for reasons that differ from those for other professions, and it is these reasons and their dimensions that the thesis starts to untangle.

This dissertation began with my personal experience and observations of the frustration women experience with architecture, and with the oft-commented-upon disappearance of women from the architecture profession in Australia, and their invisibility at senior levels. The dissertation posed two main questions in order to help understand what might be happening and what might be done about it. This chapter returns to these questions in its first two sections looking at how these questions were investigated, and briefly summarises the answers found throughout the dissertation. The first question was around the distribution of the sexes in architecture, and the second was around the profession's gendered substructure. The chapter then looks at the limits of the project and the potential for future research before concluding with some final remarks.

A Question of Gender Distribution

The first main question addressed by the thesis concerned the distribution of women and men in the Australian architecture profession. Previous studies in Australia, and in other countries, had argued that there was a very slow acceptance of women into architecture, particularly compared to other professions. However, a detailed understanding of women's participation is hampered by the

¹ "Becoming an Architect," *Australian Institute of Architects*, accessed July 2014, <http://www.architecture.com.au/architecture/national/becoming-an-architect>.

² Paula Whitman, *Going Places: The Career Progression of Women in the Architectural Profession* (Brisbane: Queensland University of Technology, 2005), 23.

difficulty of counting architects due to the particularities of the profession. By using a number of different sources of quantitative data and, importantly, cross-referencing the data, a much more nuanced picture of women's participation in the profession (and of the profession itself) was revealed in Chapter 2.

The frequently cited figure of the percentage of registered women architects will continue to be used and continue to be problematic. It can never represent the profession in all its complexities, let alone the participation of women. Nonetheless, registration *is* a major step towards influence in architecture,³ and so the count of registered women architects still needs to be made. By the estimation of the work of this thesis, as of 2014, women in Australia comprise close to one-third of the architecture profession, and nearly one-quarter of its registered practitioners;⁴ figures that demonstrate the considerable growth of the last two decades. However, these numbers do not mean that the Australian profession is rapidly moving towards greater gender equity, as this is not simply a matter of “getting the statistics right.”⁵ Numbers help articulate and indicate broad patterns, but, considered alone, cannot signify that equity is increasing nor that gender distinction is no longer affecting the participation of women in the profession. In particular, the figures show that not only are women leaving the profession, but that their growth in the above figures is boosted by older people also leaving. The latter group are being pushed out by their expense in a constrained economy, fierce internal and external competition,⁶ and changing technologies.⁷ Because of the skewed age-profile of the profession by sex (Figure 2-7), these older people are predominantly men.⁸ Therefore, any percentages purporting to show women's participation and arguing that there is heartening growth need to be understood in this light. Moreover, the high numbers leaving— younger women and older men—suggest a profession under pressure.

Because those in the architecture profession, like many others, have tended to think of it as gender-neutral,⁹ the empirical evidence provided by this dissertation's statistical overview has been needed to focus attention. This information has been used by the wider “Equity and Diversity” project team in a number of different forums; for example, Michael Lewarne writes of the “sobering” effect of seeing the “gory statistical detail” of gender inequity in the profession in one such forum.¹⁰ This

³ Page 59 of this thesis.

⁴ Figure 2-15. Adjusted for multiple registrations using the figures on page 56 of this thesis.

⁵ Mats Alvesson and Yvonne Due Billing, *Understanding Gender and Organizations*, 2nd ed. (London: SAGE Publications, 2009), 235.

⁶ Page 243 of this thesis.

⁷ Page 246 of this thesis.

⁸ An example of this ‘boost’ is detailed on page 53 of this thesis.

⁹ Page 249 of this thesis.

¹⁰ Michael Lewarne, “A Look Behind the Drapes: Auditing Redshift's Equity Practice,” *Redshift*, 2015, <http://www.redshiftaa.com.au/a-look-behind-the-drapes-auditing-redshifts-equity-practice/>.

sobering effect has been critical for prompting actions to tackle inequity in the architecture profession in Australia, and constitutes part of this dissertation's original contribution to knowledge.

A Question of Gendered Substructure

The second question posed by the thesis concerned whether the priorities, practices, and ideologies within the Australian architecture profession might favour one gender or the other, propelling or hindering careers. Investigating this required the qualitative research methods of interviews and observations. Julie Willis maintains there are continuing “subtle undercurrents” operating that stymie women's ability to fully participate in the profession.¹¹ This dissertation extended Willis' notion of subtle undercurrents by employing the framework developed by Joan Acker to investigate how gender silently structures the profession through a gendered substructure. This helped to illuminate the priorities, practices, and ideologies that generate these undercurrents. Debra Meyerson and Deborah Kolb argue that using this framework to identify the particular ways a profession or workplace produces gender inequities means these particularities can become potential targets for change.¹² This section suggests some of these targets.

Gendering Processes in the Architecture Profession

Like the work of Kelly Dye and Albert Mills, this thesis has found that the separate sets of gendering processes described by Acker were highly interdependent; in practice, it was sometimes difficult to distinguish them.¹³ Where these sets became most useful was in considering the profession in terms of having a structure and culture that interrelated with individual interactions and identity. These formed the dimensions of the profession and were useful analytical guides for where to look for the impact of gender. The strongest dimension in architecture supporting and reproducing gender inequity was clearly cultural—comprised particularly of the ideals that form the consciousness of all architects. Through this culture, the structure of the profession was justified and became viewed as inevitable, natural, and taken-for-granted. It also set strong conditions for the way architects interacted with each other and defined their identity.

Although other studies have identified the ideal architect as a creative genius,¹⁴ this study complicates this identity by positing the ideal architect as a project devotee who is wholeheartedly

¹¹ Julie Willis, “Aptitude and Capacity: Published Views of the Australian Woman Architect,” *Architectural Theory Review* 17, no. 2–3 (2012): 328.

¹² Debra E. Meyerson and Deborah M. Kolb, “Moving out of the ‘Armchair’: Developing a Framework to Bridge the Gap between Feminist Theory and Practice,” *Organization* 7, no. 4 (2000): 564.

¹³ Kelly Dye and Albert J. Mills, “Pleading the Fifth: Re-Focusing Acker's Gendered Substructure through the Lens of Organizational Logic,” *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion* 31, no. 3 (2012).

¹⁴ Page 83 of this thesis.

and whole-bodily devoted to the project in question—its process, its product, and its potential.¹⁵ From the first day of architecture education, the imperative of the project is consistently promoted, and the ideal architect is one who will push *all* boundaries for the project they are working on. In particular, the devotee will push the boundaries of time, considering that time is the *only* route to good design. Other professions and occupations also exhibit time devotion where it is considered a signal of value and commitment, and employees make sure they are “seen” to be working hard.¹⁶ This presenteeism also occurred in the studied architecture firms, but the consistently *articulated* (and hence cultural) justification for hard work and long hours was for the projects.

Project devotion was equally manifest among the women and men in the younger cohorts, but shifted for the older ones. Most obviously, family provided a competing devotion to that of projects, and, crucially, project devotion permits no competition.¹⁷ As such, the project devotion aspect of the cultural dimension tended to increasingly exclude women, as they are still socially expected to shoulder most of the caring responsibility for families. The only mothers who spoke of not curtailing hours were those who were primary earners for their families. Although this primarily disadvantaged women, a significant number of men spoke of curtailing hours and shifting focus once they became fathers.

The concept of project devotion complicates the literature that depicts architects as creative workers too often frustrated by the lack of creativity in their work. While restricted creativity was an element, it was more decisively the loss of project devotion by various means that led to frustration and disillusionment for the interviewees in this study, and observed by them as a reason for others leaving the profession.

Project devotion also contributes to explanations of interviewees’ tolerance of weak management processes.¹⁸ Even in the large firms involved in this study, there was some distrust of processes that might encroach on the project-devoted imperative. Lack of processes sometimes resulted in an over-busy-ness such that policies that did exist were not followed. Consequently, informal work practices tended to dominate the formal and informal moments that contribute to career advancement. For example, recruitment, particularly of junior staff, was often via word of mouth and contacts; promotion was perceived to be judged on highly subjective criteria and based on favouritism (although this was variable among the firms); and distribution of project opportunities often

¹⁵ As discussed Chapter 9.

¹⁶ Page 69 of this thesis.

¹⁷ Page 242 of this thesis.

¹⁸ Page 207 of this thesis.

depended on inter-personal relationships and an individual ability to be assertive. These informal practices were openings for gendering processes including homosociality. Just as formal processes demonstrably assist equitable promotion,¹⁹ casual processes tend to support the maintenance of biases.²⁰ The exercise of assertiveness and other impression management tactics, such as self-promotion and ingratiation, were typically less used by women (as in other professions), but was also strongly contraindicated by project devotion.²¹ The impact of these more covert biases was visible in the persistence of a ceiling for promotions to Tier 2 over the course of the study.

The overt imposition of constricting gender stereotypes *within* firms was not observed. This is partly because stabilised numbers of women and men at architecture school for the last two decades mean that women are far more prevalent in architectural offices than they were a generation ago (Figure 2-4), and particularly because all three firms have higher-than-typical numbers of senior women. However, ‘feminine’ stereotypes that figured women as less capable or devoted were still triggered by maternity, and sometimes simply by the potential for maternity.²² They were also sometimes triggered in situations where women were in male-dominated environments, such as existed within the construction industry in meetings with clients and contractors.²³

Devotion to architecture via projects was whole-bodied and so affected the presentation of the body, or embodied physical identity. The visual norms of the profession played out on the bodies of architects but were also inflected by the different offices. Clothing that emphasised the body was not-prevalent, and some firms placed restrictions on what might be worn, particularly by women. Mostly, each office demonstrated its own interpretation of a uniform, with younger staff emulating those older or those they aspired to be like. Project devotion could also take a toll on the body through physical exhaustion and stress from time devotion. This became critical for those who had other demands on their time and body, such as parenthood—particularly motherhood.

Competition internally and externally cast a long but often unacknowledged shadow.²⁴ It did not seem that women were uncompetitive, but some means of reducing or avoiding internal competition had differential effects on women. The women who succeeded in these architecture firms—as measured by their attainment of senior levels—required a strong professional identity, confidence in

¹⁹ Page 160 of this thesis.

²⁰ Volz discusses this for recruitment in architecture, Kirsty Volz, “Equity & the Interview,” *Parlour*, February 6, 2014, <http://archiparlour.org/equity-the-interview/>.

²¹ Pages 94 and 183 of this thesis.

²² Page 164 of this thesis.

²³ Page 166 of this thesis.

²⁴ Page 243 of this thesis.

their ability to be an architect, and resilience. Other women measured their success through the prism of project success, which was personally satisfying but not necessarily visible.

Dana Cuff's conclusion to her study of architectural practice identifies a series of dilemmas created by the profession's cultural bias towards the first element in a series of dialectic dualities: individual versus the collective; design as decision-making versus design as making sense of a situation; art versus business; and generalist versus specialist roles.²⁵ Cuff argues that by neglecting the second element in each of these dualities, the profession creates consequences that disadvantage architects and society. She claims that these axes stem from a fundamental discrepancy between the beliefs or ideology of the profession and its everyday work.

To extend Cuff's structure, the dualities can be seen as generating axes of identity. Each of the offices in this study seemed to have adopted a position or identity somewhere along the axes generated by these dualities. To some degree, location depended on the client base and the kind of work the offices did. Importantly, the subjects of this dissertation also seemed to identify themselves as somewhere along these axes. Part of the volatility of staff movement was due to people seeking a firm that best aligned with their identity, matching and negotiating, adapting and adopting. The nuances of this positioning was also visible in the way individuals negotiated what constituted creativity in architecture for them, with moves away from the ideal of individual artistic genius towards the crafting of a building. The over-arching culture of architecture dictates the direction in which all architects *ought* to travel on the axes, but many resisted. Critically, those who held too close to some of the ends of the axes were more vulnerable to a loss of faith in project devotion.

In addition, the positioning had an effect on how salient gender characteristics were for advancement and success in a career in architecture. John Van Maanen argues that it "is not what culture is [...] but what culture does."²⁶ What the culture of architecture 'does' to the women (and men) within it in Australia is set a clear and strong identity for what an architect is, but the profession often falls far short of providing an environment within which such an identity might succeed, especially if female.

Awareness of the particular way the architecture profession permits gender distinction to manifest means that it can be tackled. For example, the automatic activation of stereotypes can be mediated and so the ideal architect as project devotee can be challenged (as well as those stereotypes that

²⁵ Dana Cuff, *Architecture: The Story of Practice* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), 262. Also discussed page 74 of this thesis.

²⁶ John Van Maanen, "Ethnography as Work: Some Rules of Engagement," *Journal of Management Studies* 48, no. 1 (2011): 221.

figure women as less competent). It is not that project devotion is not appropriate at times, but the way exploitation and inequity can enter the profession through this cultural norm is highly destructive of individual architects, particularly so of women.

The informal processes and practices of the profession that enable gender bias are able to be challenged specifically through use of the *Parlour Guides to Equitable Practice*, which the research for this study helped produce.²⁷ An architecture firm (which was not part of this study) has used them as an auditing tool and challenged others to do likewise.²⁸ While architects tend to resist management, implementing appropriate techniques and distinguishing between the parts of architectural work that can be managed and those that require more flexibility would contribute to equity (not to mention viability of an office).

Like other professionals, architects tend to fall into management. Project leadership roles involve management skills that few are prepared for. For example, several interviewees spoke of how it was difficult to lead a team because they always wanted to do everything, to make sure it was “done right.” One of the firms had implemented a team skills programme for developing staff for team and leadership positions. While some were suspicious of the programme, those who had completed it were generally enthusiastic, describing new insight into how their individual behaviour and interactions affected the team (and, ultimately, the project they were working on). Similar programmes in the profession and/or the schools would be highly beneficial to shift the culture of architecture away from the individual genius model of the ideal architect. Individual women (and men) have the ability to change the culture of their profession through the way they push the limits of that culture, but it is often a lonely and tiring position. Such programmes would speed up the process and create an accepting climate for change and diversity.

Careers for Women in Architecture

Deborah O’Neil et al’s identification of four career patterns for women, as discussed in Chapter 1,²⁹ is not challenged by the findings of this study. In particular, the second pattern that families and careers are central to women’s lives was confirmed: as some women with children elected not to pursue some career paths knowing that they would not be able to fit the ideal model of an architect around their family life. O’Neil et al’s fourth pattern, that human and social capital are critical

²⁷ Justine Clark, Susie Ashworth, Naomi Stead, and Neph Wake, “Parlour Guides to Equitable Practice,” *Parlour*, May 9, 2014, <http://archiparlour.org/parlour-guides/>.

²⁸ Lewarne, “A Look Behind the Drapes.”

²⁹ Page 13 of this thesis.

factors for women, was confirmed by the higher attainment of registration for the younger women in these firms, and a suggestion that it mattered more for their promotion than it did for the men.

Cuff observes that the architecture profession is highly dependent on economic conditions, and this dependency means that there is inevitably some uncertainty for careers in architecture.³⁰ Timing appeared to have much to do with the success of the interviewees—timing not to graduate into a recession, timing to join a firm at the right time, and timing to land the career-boosting project. Consequently, many of the career trajectories observed in this study did not follow the traditional architecture career path described in Chapter 1.³¹

At the time of her study, Cuff found that levels of discrimination were high for women, which made their careers perversely less uncertain.³² Overt discrimination had largely disappeared from the firms involved in the study, but not from some of the firms that interviewees had previously worked in. Nonetheless, there appeared to be resistance hampering women reaching Tier 2 levels in the firms, but no such resistance to attaining Tier 3. While achievement of Tier 2 for most architects might occur between eight and twelve years after graduation—a timing that typically clashes with women's prospects of having children—family does not explain all the resistance to promoting women to this level. Given that the firms were, in many ways, exemplars for gender equity, this indicates the persistence of profession-wide conditions that are unsupportive of women's advancement. These conditions are complicated, as the previous section discussed, and they are also confused by the cultural script where many women and men articulated their main focus as working on and producing good projects, rather than success as measured by promotions. Contradicting this kind of statement, however, was the respect given to those in at senior levels.

The lack of profession-wide agreed structures also contributes to uncertain conditions for the development of an architect's career. Even the one ostensibly clear formal marker of progress, namely registration, was marked by widely varying perceptions. Local conditions in terms of a firm's work culture and structure strongly affected the progress of a career. Some of the offices were more supportive of those who did not fit the conventional model of the ideal, project-devoted architect. There is enormous level of heterogeneity in the profession—between large and small practices, 'cool' and 'not-so-cool' ones, supportive and exploitative ones. Consequently, some women felt the full force of discriminatory behaviour and others just light touches. This range also added to the uncertainty of the profession.

³⁰ Cuff, *Architecture*, 137.

³¹ Page 13 of this thesis.

³² *Ibid.*, 145.

A product of this uncertain environment was the discernible reliance on chance and fate for the progress of careers. This was also promoted by the cultural belief that talent will ‘naturally’ lead to success. In a competitive environment, this is a poor strategy, but the hidden nature of that competitiveness within architecture means that it is a common one, for both women and men. In a profession where evaluations of individuals and cultural ideals are covertly (and sometimes overtly) marked by gender, it is a particularly poor strategy for women. Awareness of strategies would assist women to have more control over their future in architecture. *Parlour*-organised events and postings are a planned means for raising this awareness.

Limits and the Future

In a study such as this, while there are some conclusions, much is also suggestive. There were several aspects to the study that set limits on the conclusions, but there were also avenues for future research opened up by it.

One limit of the study was due to the project studying those working in large practices (although many had experienced a wide range of different firms). Consequently, the research could not cover those who would never work in such practices due to a cultural bias that such firms stifle ‘true’ architecture.³³ More critically, the context of the individual firm’s specific work culture and practices was not investigated, nor compared, due to confidentiality concerns.³⁴

This research and analysis was conducted by an architect, and there were undoubtedly aspects missed and others glossed over that a researcher from another background would have noticed and elaborated on. However, being an architect gave some additional insight. For instance, the finding around project devotion helping to govern architects’ approach to their work derived in part from my own experience that ‘creative’ was not a sufficient word to describe the power and attraction of working in architecture.

The interview questions covered a very wide range, achieving breadth sometimes greater than depth. However, this breadth means that there is a wealth of material for further study. While this study has already contributed to some of the outcomes of the wider “Equity and Diversity” project (see Chapter 1), there is further potential for the work.

First, the statistical overview in Chapter 2 would be usefully continued to track changes across time. An opportune year to gather and revisit data would be 2016 to align with that year’s Australian

³³ Page 204 of this thesis.

³⁴ Page 101 of this thesis.

Bureau of Statistics Census, to produce an architects' census. Although numbers are not an answer on their own, they do track certain types of shifts across time, and, with a sufficiently detailed lens, this can be explored more fruitfully. For example, the early departure of women is concerning, but so too is the departure of older men. Longitudinal data can help detail whether these phenomena are a result of prevailing economic circumstances or are more structural.

Second, further research might well continue observation of those interviewed as a longitudinal cohort analysis, tracking them over time—perhaps five or ten years after the initial interviews and on into the future. This would be particularly interesting for those in Cohorts One and Two for monitoring changes in their situation and perception of careers in architecture. The variability of careers and attitudes towards them over time would provide valuable material, since much of this at the moment is anecdotal.

Third, as Katherine Sang et al argue, there has been very little research examining how the management of individual architectural practices perpetuates gendered norms in the profession.³⁵ While, for confidentiality reasons, this project did not investigate the firms' management in detail, there was enough observed to sustain the hypothesis that the management of individual workplaces made a difference to the ability of women (and some men) to thrive. In addition, there appeared to be some connection between the structure of firms, in terms of their ownership model, and the progression of women to Tier 2 level, although not to Tier 1. This relationship was only hinted at, but warrants further investigation. Studies that additionally considered different-sized firms would also be able to test some of the conclusions of this project to support, develop, or challenge them. They would also cover those people who would not work in larger firms.

Finally, as others have noted, class, race, and other social categories intersect with gender. As with the possible influence of ownership models, there were indications that ethnicity might play a part in the distribution of opportunities and progression; for instance, young Asian men seemed to be clustered as BIM modellers and detailers. Class was less easy to track and may well have a more severe impact at architecture school than in the workplace, although network and contacts for securing projects is likely to have an ongoing effect once in the profession.

³⁵ Katherine Sang, Andrew Dainty, and Stephen Ison, "Gender in the UK Architectural Profession: (Re)Producing and Challenging Hegemonic Masculinity," *Work, Employment & Society* 28, no. 2 (2014): 13.

Concluding Remarks

Katherine Sang et al examine gender in the architecture profession through the lenses of hegemonic masculinity and occupational stress,³⁶ while Bridget Fowler and Fiona Wilson use a Bourdieusian lens.³⁷ Each lens provides a different view of the power and effect of gender in architecture. This dissertation uses another lens; namely, Acker's gendered substructure.³⁸ Like the other lenses, it focuses more on some matters than others, but the dimensional approach developed encompasses a wide range of aspects, leading to a more multi-faceted understanding of how the architecture profession tends to subtly marginalise and frustrate the women who enter it.

All architects draw lines, but are perhaps less aware of the lines they draw to contain themselves within the profession that limit it and themselves. These lines exclude some and include others. But these lines, formed by the social structure of the architecture profession and its gendered substructure, are not fixed and final because they are socially constructed. The profession is therefore always in flux, and shifts and moves across time and situation. The challenge for women and men in architecture is that, although the lines are always negotiated, they can (like the lines in CAD) snap to a grid of gender discouragement.

³⁶ Katherine J. C. Sang, Andrew R. J. Dainty, and Stephen G. Ison, "Gender: A Risk Factor for Occupational Stress in the Architectural Profession?" *Construction Management and Economics* 25, no. 12 (2007); Sang, Dainty, and Ison, "Gender in the UK Architectural Profession."

³⁷ Bridget Fowler and Fiona Wilson, "Women Architects and Their Discontents," *Sociology* 38, no. 1 (2004).

³⁸ Joan Acker, "Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations," *Gender & Society* 4, no. 2 (1990); Joan Acker, "Gendering Organizational Theory," in *Gendering Organizational Analysis*, ed. Albert Mills and Peta Tancred (Newbury Park, CA: SAGE Publications, 1992).

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Appendices

Appendix A – Education Data

Table A-1: Comparison Graduating Data from ASA and Universities, 2007–2011

GRADUATES	2007								2008								2009								2010								2011							
	University Data				ASA Data				University Data				ASA Data				University Data				ASA Data				University Data				ASA Data				University Data				ASA Data			
	F	M	Total	% F	F	M	Total	% F	F	M	Total	% F	F	M	Total	% F	F	M	Total	% F	F	M	Total	% F	F	M	Total	% F	F	M	Total	% F	F	M	Total	% F	F	M	Total	% F
University of Canberra	10	13	23	43%	10	13	23	43%	9	22	31	29%	9	22	31	29%	11	14	25	44%	10	21	31	32%	6	11	17	35%	7	11	18	39%	7	9	16	44%	11	16	27	41%
Australian Capital Territory	10	13	23	43%	10	13	23	43%	9	22	31	29%	9	22	31	29%	11	14	25	44%	10	21	31	32%	6	11	17	35%	7	11	18	39%	7	9	16	44%	11	16	27	41%
University of NSW	59	63	122	48%	54	55	109	50%	29	24	53	55%	47	48	95	49%	39	49	88	44%	43	47	90	48%	36	45	81	44%	36	38	74	49%	34	66	100	34%	37	79	116	32%
University of Newcastle	12	18	30	40%	12	18	30	40%	5	20	25	20%	5	20	25	20%	12	25	37	32%	12	25	37	32%	16	24	40	40%	16	24	40	40%	17	34	51	33%	17	34	51	33%
University of Sydney	34	26	60	57%	45	39	84	54%	37	39	76	49%	44	35	79	56%	47	31	78	60%	74	47	121	61%	49	57	106	46%	55	60	115	48%	51	41	92	55%	51	41	92	55%
University of Technology, Sydney	10	25	35	29%	22	30	52	42%	32	54	86	37%	14	22	36	39%	23	43	66	35%	29	43	72	40%	27	47	74	36%	13	42	55	24%	27	47	74	36%	33	60	93	35%
New South Wales	115	132	247	47%	133	142	275	48%	103	137	240	43%	110	125	235	47%	121	148	269	45%	158	162	320	49%	128	173	301	43%	120	164	284	42%	129	188	317	41%	138	214	352	39%
Deakin University	13	14	27	48%	21	31	52	40%	31	42	73	42%	22	34	56	39%	43	65	108	40%	25	43	68	37%	64	75	139	46%	41	57	98	42%	64	79	143	45%	50	53	103	49%
RMIT University	26	37	63	41%	26	37	63	41%	51	107	158	32%	45	64	109	41%	52	46	98	53%	50	55	105	48%	36	41	77	47%	44	42	86	51%	59	64	123	48%	60	62	122	49%
University of Melbourne	93	83	176	53%	60	59	119	50%	114	98	212	54%	64	52	116	55%	131	116	247	53%	92	80	172	53%	100	83	183	55%	92	77	169	54%	90	74	164	55%	92	77	169	54%
Victoria	132	134	266	50%	107	127	234	46%	196	247	443	44%	131	150	281	47%	226	227	453	50%	167	178	345	48%	200	199	399	50%	177	176	353	50%	213	217	430	50%	202	192	394	51%
Queensland University of Technology	34	33	67	51%	34	32	66	52%	29	48	77	38%	29	49	78	37%	27	41	68	40%	27	41	68	40%	49	75	124	40%	20	31	51	39%	29	42	71	41%	35	52	87	40%
University of Queensland	21	29	50	42%	20	27	47	43%	16	21	37	43%	16	21	37	43%	20	24	44	45%	20	24	44	45%	11	24	35	31%	11	24	35	31%	15	34	49	31%	15	34	49	31%
Queensland	55	62	117	47%	54	59	113	48%	45	69	114	39%	45	70	115	39%	47	65	112	42%	47	65	112	42%	60	99	159	38%	31	55	86	36%	44	76	120	37%	50	86	136	37%
University of Adelaide	9	19	28	32%	15	22	37	41%	8	31	39	21%	8	24	32	25%	11	18	29	38%	11	18	29	38%	19	31	50	38%	17	27	44	39%	11	33	44	25%	11	33	44	25%
University of South Australia	11	26	37	30%	9	24	33	27%	14	26	40	35%	12	27	39	31%	12	38	50	24%	18	37	55	33%	11	16	27	41%	9	34	43	21%	20	47	67	30%	20	47	67	30%
South Australia	20	45	65	31%	24	46	70	34%	22	57	79	28%	20	51	71	28%	23	56	79	29%	29	55	84	35%	30	47	77	39%	26	61	87	30%	31	80	111	28%	31	80	111	28%
Curtin University	21	22	43	49%	18	23	41	44%	9	27	36	25%	9	25	34	26%	17	18	35	49%	17	18	35	49%	17	23	40	43%	16	22	38	42%	13	28	41	32%	19	22	41	46%
WA University	20	31	51	39%	32	37	69	46%	31	34	65	48%	25	32	57	44%	25	25	50	50%	33	28	61	54%	36	31	67	54%	36	31	67	54%	40	36	76	53%	40	36	76	53%
Western Australia	41	53	94	44%	50	60	110	45%	40	61	101	40%	34	57	91	37%	42	43	85	49%	50	46	96	52%	53	54	107	50%	52	53	105	50%	53	64	117	45%	59	58	117	50%
University of Tasmania	17	28	45	38%	17	30	47	36%	27	21	48	56%	21	24	45	47%	18	41	59	31%	18	41	59	31%	13	29	42	31%	14	28	42	33%	28	35	63	44%	28	35	63	44%
Tasmania	17	28	45	38%	17	30	47	36%	27	21	48	56%	21	24	45	47%	18	41	59	31%	18	41	59	31%	13	29	42	31%	14	28	42	33%	28	35	63	44%	28	35	63	44%
Grand Total	390	467	857	46%	395	477	872	45%	442	614	1,056	42%	370	499	869	43%	488	594	1,082	45%	479	568	1,047	46%	490	612	1,102	44%	427	548	975	44%	505	669	1,174	43%	519	681	1,200	43%

Total for five years				
	Female	Male	Total	% F
University Data	2,315	2,956	5,271	43.9%
ASA Data	2,190	2,773	4,963	44.1%
Difference	125	183	308	0.21%
% difference	5.7%	6.6%	6.2%	

Source: Data derived from AIA, *Architecture Schools of Australasia*, Handbooks 2009–2013, and University Registrars, direct request.

Note: All data entry by Kirsty Volz and Gill Matthewson, cross-checked by Chandana Rajanna.

Table A-2: Teaching and Research Staff Data, 2012

2012	Professor		Associate Professor		Senior Lecturer		Lecturer		Assistant Lecturer		Total		
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	Female	Male	% F
University of Canberra		1	1		1	0.5		1	1	1	3.0	3.5	46%
Australian Capital Territory	0.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	0.5	0.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	3.0	3.5	46%
University of NSW		2.3		1	2	9	3	3			5.0	15.3	25%
University of Newcastle	0.1	2.4			3	3	1	4			4.1	9.4	30%
University of Sydney	1	1		2	1	3	1			0.5	3.0	6.5	32%
University of Technology, Sydney	1	0.6	1	2	3	2.1	1	3			6.0	7.7	44%
New South Wales	2.1	6.3	1.0	5.0	9.0	17.1	6.0	10.0	0.0	0.5	18.1	38.9	32%
Deakin University		2		3	2	6	9	4		1	11.0	16.0	41%
Monash University		2				2	2	5			2.0	9.0	18%
RMIT University	1	5	3	3	1	4	4	3.5			9.0	15.5	37%
University of Melbourne	2	5	2	5	5	6	3	6	1		13.0	22.0	37%
Victoria	3.0	14.0	5.0	11.0	8.0	18.0	18.0	18.5	1.0	1.0	35.0	62.5	36%
Griffith University				1	1		5.5	3			6.5	4.0	62%
Queensland University of Technology		3.5			3	2	4.4	3		1	7.4	9.5	44%
University of Queensland		1		2		1	1				1.0	4.0	20%
Queensland	0.0	4.5	0.0	3.0	4.0	3.0	10.9	6.0	0.0	1.0	14.9	17.5	46%
University of Adelaide		0.5	1	1	1	2	3.6	3.3			5.6	6.8	45%
University of South Australia		1		1	2	4.5	1	3			3.0	9.5	24%
South Australia	0.0	1.5	1.0	2.0	3.0	6.5	4.6	6.3	0.0	0.0	8.6	16.3	35%
Curtin University		2	0.5	1	2	2	4.5	3.5			7.0	8.5	45%
University of Western Australia		6	1	5	3	2		2		5	4.0	20.0	17%
Western Australia	0.0	8.0	1.5	6.0	5.0	4.0	4.5	5.5	0.0	5.0	11.0	39.5	28%
University of Tasmania		1.4		1	1	2	3	2.6			4.0	7.0	36%
Tasmania	0.0	1.4	0.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	3.0	2.6	0.0	0.0	4.0	7.0	36%
Charles Darwin University							2				2.0	0.0	100%
Northern Territory	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	0.0	100%
Total	5.1	36.7	9.5	28.0	31.0	51.1	49.0	49.9	2.0	8.5	96.6	174.2	
% female	12%		25%		38%		50%		19%		35.7%		

Source: Data supplied by Schools of Architecture, direct request.

Appendix B – 2011 Census Data

List of data requested from Australian Bureau of Statistics used in this dissertation

Occupation by Sex by LGA (Place of Usual Residence), 2011

Occupation by Sex by Capital City/State Balance/Total State (Place of Usual Residence), 2011

Occupation by Employment Type by Sex, 2011

Occupation by Employment Type by LGA (Place of Usual Residence), 2011

Occupation by Employment Type by Sex by Capital City/State Balance/Total State (Place of Usual Residence), 2011

Occupation by Employment Type by Hours Worked by Age by Sex, 2011

Occupation by Income by Sex for Fulltime workers only, 2011

Occupation by Income by Employment Type by Hours Worked by Sex, 2011

Occupation by Income by Employment Type by Age by Sex, 2011

Occupation by Employment Status by Sex, 2011

Table B-1: Census by Age, 2011

	Females	Males	% Female	Distribution % of all	
				Females	Males
15-19 years	8	13	38%	0.2%	0.1%
20-24 years	321	359	47%	7.7%	3.3%
25-29 years	996	1,183	46%	24.0%	10.9%
30-34 years	841	1,439	37%	20.3%	13.3%
35-39 years	637	1,468	30%	15.4%	13.6%
40-44 years	523	1,208	30%	12.6%	11.2%
45-49 years	360	1,085	25%	8.7%	10.0%
50-54 years	203	1,156	15%	4.9%	10.7%
55-59 years	131	1,150	10%	3.2%	10.6%
60-64 years	73	964	7%	1.8%	8.9%
65 years plus	50	798	6%	1.2%	7.4%
Total All Ages	4,143	10,823	28%		

Source: Data derived from ABS, 2011 Census.

Table B-2: Employment Situation by Sex, 2011, All Professionals

	Females	Males	Total	% all Females	% all Males	% of Total
Employee	1,037,773	93,730	1,823,878	90%	79%	85%
Small practice owner	72,320	93,730	166,050	6%	10%	8%
Large practice owner	35,052	100,196	135,248	3%	10%	6%
All owners	107,372	193,926	301,298	9%	20%	14%

Source: Data derived from ABS, 2011 Census.

Table B-3: Employment Situation by Sex, 2006

2006	Female	Male	Total	% Female	% all Females	% all Males	% of Total
Contributing family worker	16	33	49	33%	0.5%	0.3%	0.4%
Employee not owning business	2,266	5,519	7,785	29%	73%	54%	57%
Owner managers of unincorporated enterprises	444	1,733	2,177	20%	14%	17%	16%
Owner managers of incorporated enterprises	348	2,877	3,266	11%	11%	28%	24%
Total	3,089	10,196	13,285				
All Owners	792	4,611	5,403	15%			

Source: Extrapolated from "Architects in Australia, 2006," 5.

Table B-4: Sex Breakdown for Age and Employment Type

	Employees				Owner managers of unincorporated enterprises				Owner managers of incorporated enterprises				Grad rate
	Female	Male	Total	%Female	Female	Male	Total	%Female	Female	Males	Total	%Female	
20-24 years	311	346	657	47%	7	9	16	44%	3	4	7	43%	
25-29 years	967	1,103	2,070	47%	15	43	58	26%	11	31	42	26%	44%
30-34 years	747	1,210	1,957	38%	62	96	158	39%	26	133	159	16%	40%
35-39 years	446	1,025	1,471	30%	96	146	242	40%	92	287	379	24%	39%
40-44 years	289	637	926	31%	113	166	279	41%	112	397	509	22%	37%
45-49 years	192	502	694	28%	96	207	303	32%	69	367	436	16%	28%
50-54 years	94	464	558	17%	39	216	255	15%	67	461	528	13%	
55-59 years	58	406	464	13%	30	247	277	11%	37	482	519	7%	
60-64 years	19	276	295	6%	22	232	254	9%	23	441	464	5%	
65 years +	19	189	208	9%	15	242	257	6%	13	337	350	4%	
	3,142	6,158	9,300	34%	495	1,604	2,099	24%	453	2,940	3,393	13%	

Sources: Data derived from ABS, 2011 Census, and AIA, *Architecture Schools*, 1988–2014.

Table B-5: Hours Worked, Architects and All Professionals

Hours per week	1-15	16-24	25-34	35-39	40	41-48	49+	% Full time	% 41+	% 49+
Female architects	303	418	440	653	1,073	564	496	71%	27%	13%
Male architects	360	401	575	1,323	3,049	1,932	2,852	87%	46%	27%
Architects Total	663	819	1,015	1,976	4,122	2,496	3,348	83%	40%	23%
Female all professionals	107,125	146,603	156,671	198,249	218,539	112,901	133,775	62%	23%	12%
Male all professionals	45,112	40,315	57,089	170,009	255,733	141,206	235,278	85%	40%	25%
All professionals Total	152,237	186,918	213,760	368,258	474,272	254,107	369,053	73%	31%	18%

Source: Data derived from ABS, 2011 Census.

Table B-6: Full-Time/Part-Time Work by Age, Sex, and Employment Situation

	Employees						Owner managers of unincorporated enterprises						Owner managers of incorporated enterprises					
	Female			Male			Female			Male			Female			Male		
	Part	Full	%PT F	Part	Full	%PT M	Part	Full	%PT F	Part	Full	%PT M	Part	Full	%PT F	Part	Full	%PT M
25-29 years	83	855	9%	62	1011	6%	4	8	33%	12	31	28%	0	11	0%	3	25	11%
30-34 years	112	580	16%	46	1130	4%	26	30	46%	23	68	25%	0	11	0%	6	127	5%
35-39 years	151	268	36%	47	942	5%	67	25	73%	20	126	14%	15	37	29%	15	265	5%
40-44 years	119	154	44%	36	590	6%	62	44	58%	38	128	23%	50	60	45%	20	364	5%
45-49 years	70	119	37%	19	466	4%	49	44	53%	41	158	21%	52	45	54%	11	347	3%
50-54 years	23	71	24%	16	428	4%	16	20	44%	50	162	24%	21	52	29%	19	431	4%
55-59 years	15	39	28%	25	369	6%	14	16	47%	60	181	25%	15	28	35%	59	411	13%
60-64 years	3	13	19%	38	231	14%	9	13	41%	89	132	40%	6	14	30%	99	333	23%
65 years +	9	7	9%	65	111	6%	9	3	75%	140	90	61%	9	3	75%	117	209	36%

Source: Data derived from ABS, 2011 Census.

Note: Persons recording no hours worked or not stated are not included in this table.

Table B-7: Geographic Distribution

By Regional/City	Female	Male	Total
Capital city areas	3,790	9,571	13,361
Regional areas	352	1,260	1,612
% in Capital city areas	92%	88%	89%
% in Regional areas	8%	12%	11%

Source: Data derived from ABS, 2011 Census.

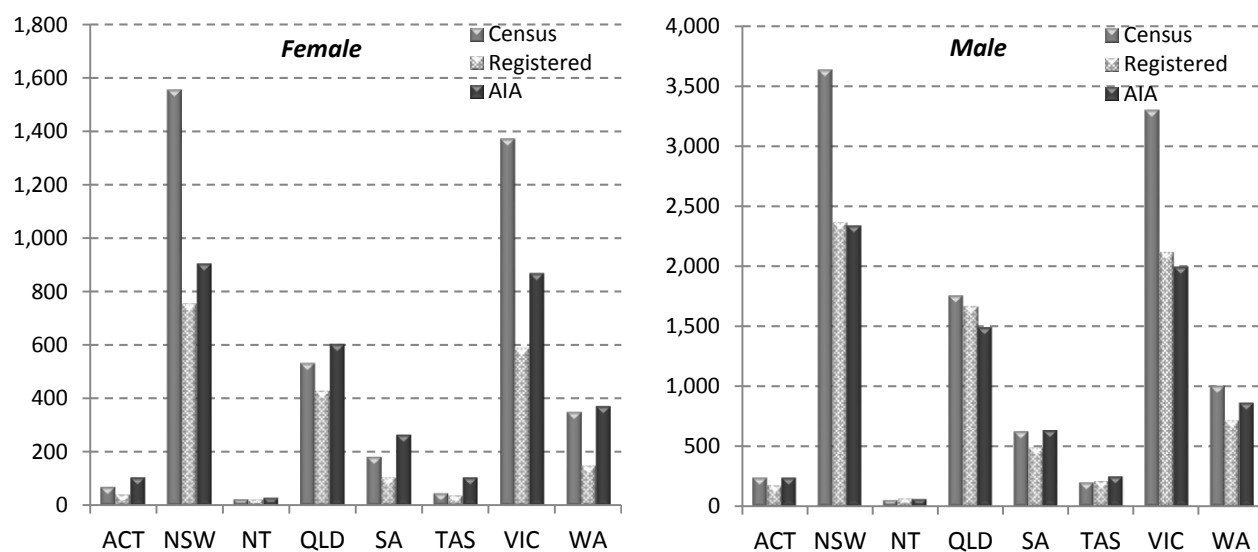


Figure B-1: Numbers of Architects by State and Sex

Sources: Data derived from ABS, 2011 Census; AIA, and 2013 Active Membership.

Appendix C – Registration Data

Table C-1: Australian Registered Architects, 2014

	Female	Male	Total	%Female
ACT	52	295	347	15%
NSW	913	2,830	3,743	24%
NT	37	173	210	18%
QLD	483	1,899	2,382	20%
SA	115	587	702	16%
TAS	51	346	397	13%
VIC	958	2,712	3,670	26%
WA	218	1,053	1,271	17%
	2,827	9,895	12,722	22.2%

Sources: Data supplied by individual State Boards August–September 2014; NT figures from Northern Territory of Australia, *Government Gazette R2*, (Darwin: Government Printer, April 23, 2014); ACT figures from *Architects in Australia*, accessed August 2014, <http://australianarchitect.org.au/list-of-individual-architects-in-australia/>.

Table C-3: Raw AACA Register

	Female	Male	Total	%Female	Table 2-11	
ACT	49	261	310	15.8%	321	15.6%
NSW	785	2,656	3,441	22.8%	3,544	22.7%
NT	35	173	208	16.8%	210	17.1%
QLD	450	1,923	2,373	19.0%	2,385	18.7%
SA	111	589	700	15.9%	786	16.3%
TAS	46	328	374	12.3%	392	12.5%
VIC	623	2,380	3,003	20.7%	3,319	23.5%
WA	161	823	984	16.4%	978	15.2%
	2,260	9,133	11,393	19.8%	11,935	20.5%

Source: Data derived from AACA Combined Register, 2012.

Table C-2: New Admissions to the Australian Registers, 2006–2012

	2006				2007				2008				2009				2010				2011				2012				Total 2008 to 2012			
	F	M	T	%F	F	M	T	%F	F	M	T	%F	F	M	T	%F	F	M	T	%F	F	M	T	%F	F	M	T	%F	F	M	T	%F
ACT*	3	15	18	17%	4	8	12	33%	1	9	10	10%	4	5	9	44%	3	8	11	27%	3	6	9	33%	-	-	-	-	11	28	39	28%
NSW*	57	146	203	28%	71	163	234	30%	82	175	257	32%	71	100	171	42%	87	146	233	37%	66	129	195	34%	59	104	163	36%	365	654	1019	36%
NT**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	4	6	33%	1	8	9	11%	4	18	22	18%	4	8	12	33%	2	11	13	15%	13	49	62	21%
QLD**	18	87	105	17%	46	126	172	27%	39	108	147	27%	40	92	132	30%	32	84	116	28%	16	51	67	24%	48	108	156	31%	175	443	618	28%
SA*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	26	39	33%	-	-	-	-	15	49	64	23%	28	75	103	27%
TAS***	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
VIC****	65	128	193	34%	61	111	172	35%	76	177	253	30%	98	180	278	35%	61	117	178	34%	77	192	269	29%	122	194	316	39%	434	860	1294	34%
WA*	11	24	35	31%	14	39	53	26%	27	67	94	29%	13	38	51	25%	13	36	49	27%	24	46	70	34%	35	74	109	32%	112	261	373	30%
Total	94	239	333	28%	196	447	643	30%	227	540	767	30%	227	423	650	35%	213	435	648	33%	190	432	622	31%	281	540	821	34%	1138	2370	3508	32%

Sources: * Data supplied by registrars in response to e-mail request, June 2012.
 ** Architects' admissions roll provided, data extracted by Kirsty Volz.

*** No data provided.
 **** Data obtained from ARBV, *Annual Reports, 2009–2013* (Melbourne: Architects Registration Board of Victoria) <http://www.arbv.vic.gov.au/?page=Publications>.

Appendix D – Australian Institute of Architects Data

Table D-1: Membership of the Australian Institute of Architects by Employment Category by Sex

Employment Type	Female	Male	Total	% Female	Distribution % of All		
					Female	Male	Total
Director/Principal - private	306	2,364	2,670	11%	9%	28%	23%
Partner – private	39	240	279	14%	1%	3%	2%
Sole practitioner	221	809	1030	21%	7%	10%	9%
Consultant	16	73	89	18%	0%	1%	1%
Owners	582	3,486	4,068	14%	31%	59%	52%
Public Sector	54	117	171	32%	2%	1%	1%
Tertiary Institution	46	56	102	45%	1%	1%	1%
Associate - private	49	191	240	20%	1%	2%	2%
Salaried - Private Sector	1,120	2,066	3,186	35%	34%	25%	27%
Employed	1,269	2,430	3,699	34%	69%	41%	48%
Student	1,250	1,393	2,643	47%	38%	17%	23%
Retired	88	853	941	9%	3%	10%	8%
Employed out profess	22	43	65	34%	1%	1%	1%
Unemployed	25	31	56	45%	1%	0%	0%
Other	18	42	60	30%	1%	0%	1%
Blank	57	135	192	30%	2%	2%	2%
Unknown	9	10	19	47%	0%	0%	0%
Possible non-practising	1,469	2,507	3,976	37%	44%	30%	34%
Total	3,320	8,423	11,743	28.3%			

Source: Data derived from AIA, 2013 Active Membership.

Table D-2: Geographic Breakdown of Owner Categories of AIA Membership by Sex

	Sole Practitioner				Partner - private				Director/Principal - private				All Directors/Partners			
	Female	Male	Total	% F	Female	Male	Total	% F	Female	Male	Total	% F	Female	Male	Total	% F
ACT	7	23	30	23%	-	4	4	0%	8	61	69	12%	8	65	73	11%
NSW	72	208	280	26%	11	58	69	16%	102	691	793	13%	113	749	862	13%
NT	2	2	4	50%	-	-	-	-	2	16	18	11%	2	16	18	11%
QLD	33	136	169	20%	1	40	41	2%	38	369	407	9%	39	409	448	9%
SA	6	48	54	11%	4	16	20	20%	6	98	104	6%	10	114	124	8%
TAS	4	19	23	17%	2	5	7	29%	5	58	63	8%	7	63	70	10%
VIC	58	199	257	23%	11	44	55	20%	94	593	687	14%	105	637	742	14%
WA	15	77	92	16%	3	20	23	13%	19	237	256	7%	22	257	279	8%
Total	197	712	909	22%	32	187	219	15%	274	2,123	2,397	11%	306	2,310	2,616	12%

Source: Data derived from AIA, 2013 Active Membership.

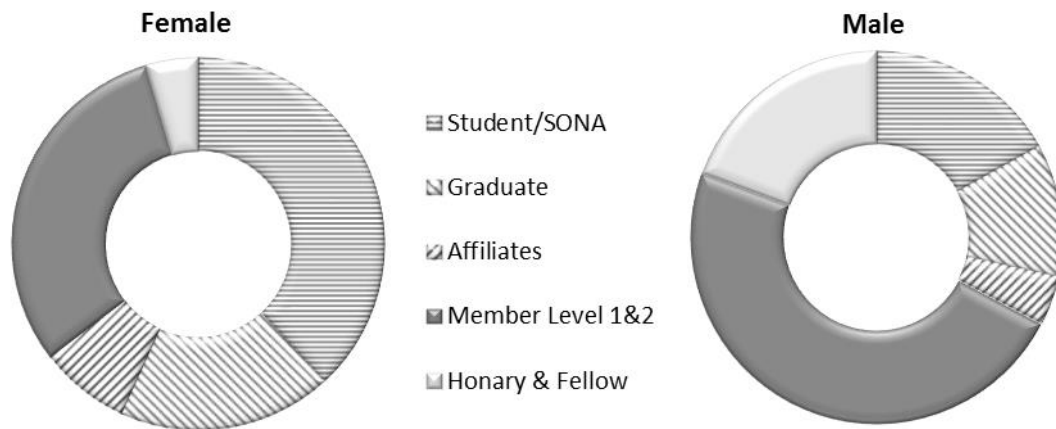


Figure D-1: Membership of AIA by Membership Type by Sex

Source: Data derived from AIA, 2013 Active Membership.

Note: Striped segments for not-registered categories of membership.

Table D-3: Members of the AIA in Practice/Work Categories Only; Registered and Not-Registered by Sex

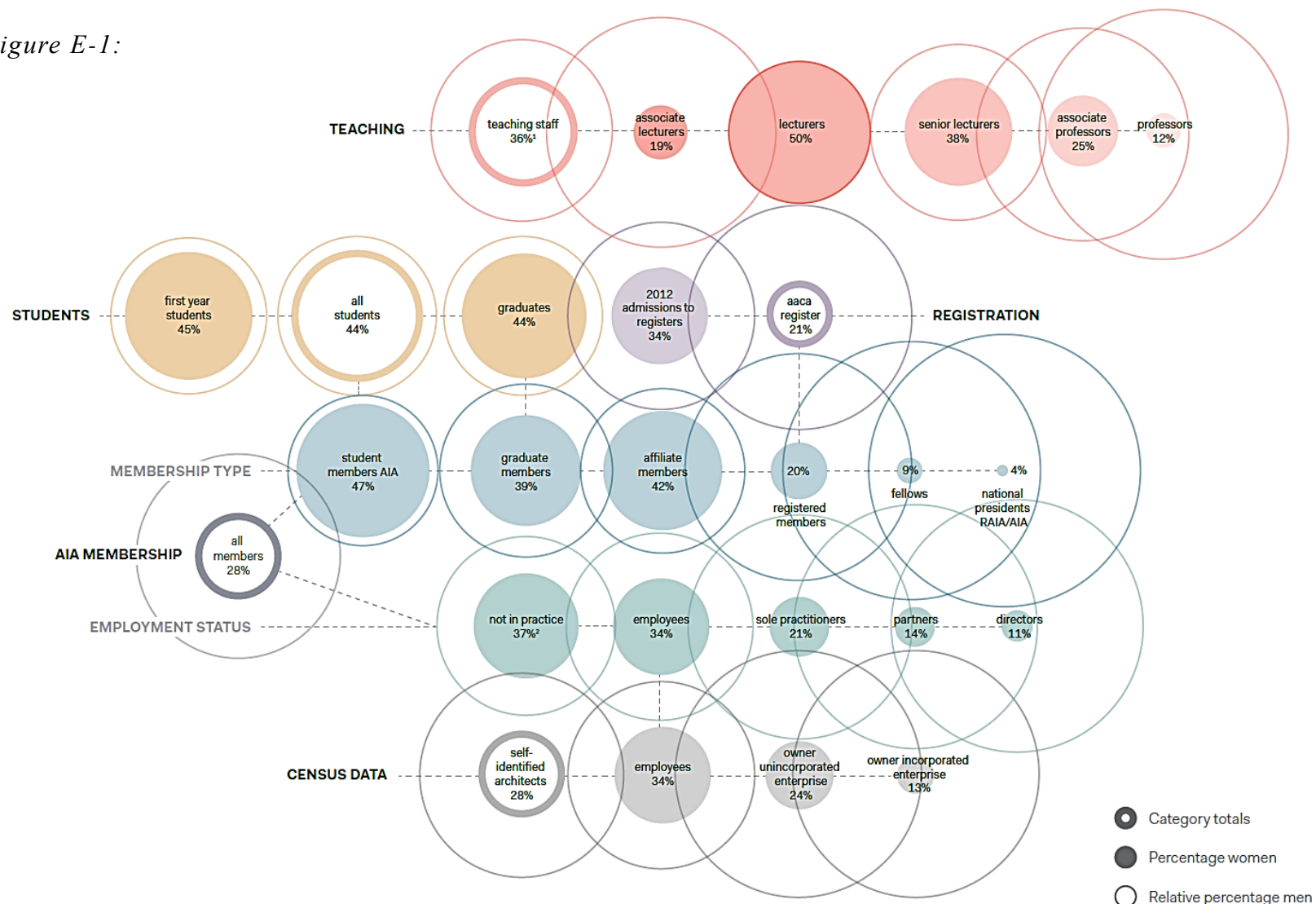
All in practice	Female	Male	Total	%F	Distribution % of all		
					Female	Male	Total
Registered	1,047	4,412	5,459	19%	60%	83%	77%
Not registered	685	923	1,608	43%	40%	17%	23%
	1,732	5,335	7,067	25%			

Employees Only	Female	Male	Total	%F	Distribution % of all		
					Female	Male	Total
Registered	544	1,390	1,934	28%	44%	60%	55%
Not registered	685	923	1,608	43%	56%	40%	45%
	1,229	2,313	3,542	35%			

Source: Data derived from AIA, 2013 Active Membership.

Appendix E – Percentages of Women in Australian Architecture, 2012; Summary

Figure E-1:



Source: Diagram by Georgina Russell for the wider “Equity and Diversity” project based on data by author presented in Chapter 2.¹

¹ Published in Gill Matthewson, “Women in Architecture: Who Counts?” *Architecture Australia*, no. 5 (September 2014).

Appendix F – Interview Question Areas Guide Sheets

General Staff Question Area Guide Sheet

Background:

- What made you get in to architecture?
- Did you know any other architects?
- Where study, when
- Difference to school?
- Find it satisfying? What gives the buzz?
- Have you ever thought of leaving architecture?

Career path

- How many firms have you worked in? Size of firms?
- How compare?
- How get your job here? Know someone, unsolicited cv, ad?
- What level did you come in on?
- How long been here?
- What kind of work do now?
- Ambitious? How define ambitious, climbing tree or doing the best you can?
- Were promotions a surprise to you? Meritocracy. Equity
- Difficult people/experiences, Construction site – bad behaviour
- Registered? Help

Leadership:

- What are the qualities of Directors? How do they behave?
- Any problems working with them?
- What do you think of them?

Work culture

- Do you think the culture here is the same or different to the others?
- Hours, TIL
 - Flexible work arrangements
 - Time sheet all hours
- Resource management
- Performance reviews?
 - Experience work not pulling weight?
- Do you know what's required to climb the ladder? Transparency
 - How do you prove your worth?
- Mentoring programme
- Training opportunities TSP
- Move around
- Do you perceive any biases in how jobs are assigned, who's promoted, etc.
- Gender balance dynamic
- All male meetings
- Pay equity
- Why do people leave the practice?

Identity Professional image

- Look, wear perception
- Creative communicate
- Peer feedback, awards importance

Women disappearing, particularly from senior levels. Any thoughts

Tier 1 Question Area Guide Sheet

Background:

- What made you get in to architecture?
- Did you know any other architects?
- Where study, when
- Difference to school?
- Find it satisfying? What gives the buzz?
- Have you ever thought of leaving architecture?

Career path

- How many firms have you worked in? Size of firms?
- How get your job here? Know someone, unsolicited cv, ad?
- What level did you come in on?
- How long have you been a director?
- Were promotions a surprise to you
- What kind of work do now? Generalist/specialist
- Difficult people/experiences, Construction site

Leadership:

- What qualities that you bring to team? How would you describe yourself in that team?
- How learn manage? Mentors, role models?
- How do you think the people in the office perceive you? 360 degree reviews?
- Different directors autonomy, teams specific



Succession planning

- What kind of characteristics are you looking for?
- Personality types who wouldn't aspire to be a director here, want more recognition personally?
- Bringing work in

Management

- Resource management
 - How avoid bias in allocation of work/teams
 - Earnings ratio
 - Pay equity monitoring
 - How compare?
- Recruitment – how? Stats?
- Promotion
 - X factor or is ladder transparent?
 - How does someone prove their worth
- Performance reviews, how do you negotiate all that?
 - How do you deal with moving people out? Redundancy?
 - What do you with people who are not ambitious?
- Mentor/training
 - TSP selection, external consultants,
- Critic
- Hours, TIL
 - Flexible work arrangements – some work being done at the moment on it?
- Collaboration
- Gender balance dynamic
 - Do you think the culture here is the same or different to the others?
 - Why do people leave the practice
 - Attributes of the perfect employee – constants
 - Autonomy, time, workspace
 - Move around
- Identity Professional image
 - Look perception/Communicate creative
 - Peer feedback, awards importance
- Women disappearing, particularly from senior levels. Any thoughts

Approval—2011

	
THE UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND Institutional Approval Form For Experiments On Humans Including Behavioural Research	
Chief Investigator:	Dr Naomi Stead
Project Title:	Equity And Diversity In The Australian Architecture Profession: Women, Work And Leadership
Supervisor:	None
Co-Investigator(s)	A/Prof Willis Julie, Prof Sandra Kaji-O'Grady, Prof Gillian Whitehouse, Prof Susan Savage, Ms Justine Clark, Dr Karen Burns, Dr Amanda Roan
Department(s):	School of Architecture
Project Number:	2011000011
Granting Agency/Degree:	ARC Linkage Projects Scheme
Duration:	28th February 2014
Comments:	
<hr/>	
Name of responsible Committee:- Behavioural & Social Sciences Ethical Review Committee This project complies with the provisions contained in the <i>National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research</i> and complies with the regulations governing experimentation on humans.	
<hr/>	
Name of Ethics Committee representative:- Associate Professor John McLean Chairperson Behavioural & Social Sciences Ethical Review Committee	
Date	Signature
18/2/11	



THE UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND
Institutional Human Research Ethics Approval

Project Title: Equity And Diversity In The Australian Architecture Profession: Women, Work And Leadership - 20/03/2013 - AMENDMENT

Chief Investigator: Dr Naomi Stead

Supervisor: None

Co-Investigator(s): A/Prof Julie Willis, Prof Sandra Kaji-O'Grady, Prof Gillian Whitehouse, Prof Susan Savage, Ms Justine Clark, Dr Karen Burns, Dr Amanda Roan, Gillian Matthewson

School(s): School of Architecture

Approval Number: 2011000011

Granting Agency/Degree: ARC Linkage Projects Scheme

Duration: 28th February 2014

Comments:

Note: If this approval is for amendments to an already approved protocol for which a UQ Clinical Trials Protection/Insurance Form was originally submitted, then the researchers must directly notify the UQ Insurance Office of any changes to that Form and Participant Information Sheets & Consent Forms as a result of the amendments, before action.

Name of responsible Committee:

Behavioural & Social Sciences Ethical Review Committee

This project complies with the provisions contained in the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research* and complies with the regulations governing experimentation on humans.

Name of Ethics Committee representative:

Associate Professor John McLean

Chairperson

Behavioural & Social Sciences Ethical Review Committee

Signature

Date

Information Sheet for Participants



School of Architecture

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University of Queensland Research Project: 'Equity and Diversity in the Australian
Architecture Profession: Women, Work and Leadership'

Participant Information Sheet - In-Depth Interviews and Participant Observation

What is the title of the project?

Equity and Diversity in the Australian Architecture Profession: Women, Work and Leadership

What is the purpose of the project?

The project aims to understand the workplace participation and career progression of women architects working in medium to large practices in Australia, in a professional context where only a small proportion of senior management staff in such practices are female. A key question is why so few women continue on to senior management positions, and what measures could be taken to increase women architects' participation in such roles. The study thus combines the detailed study of specific workplaces, with scholarly research and policy research in an international context, to give a picture of women architects' career biographies, and those factors that may be barriers to or facilitators of Australian women architects' career progression, especially to senior leadership roles.

What will the project produce?

The project will produce a draft Equity and Diversity Policy for the Australian Institute of Architects national chapter, along with specific guidelines and best-practice strategies for Australian architectural practices on how to retain and increase the proportion of women in senior management. The project will produce a comprehensive final report, along with a number of scholarly publications, and essays published in industry and professional journals. The project will also produce a visual archive of images of architects in their working environments, aimed at raising awareness of the prevalence and value of women architects in the profession (in the context of their male counterparts).

Who are the researchers on the project?

There is a large research team, spread across five Australian Universities. Most of the research team are based in the field of architecture, while there are also specialists in Political Science, Business, and Industrial Relations. Led by Dr Naomi Stead of the University of Queensland School of Architecture, the team includes Associate Professor Julie Willis of the University of Melbourne; Professor Sandra Kaji-O'Grady of the University of Sydney; Professor Gillian Whitehouse of the University of Queensland; Professor Susan Savage of the Queensland University of Technology; Dr Karen Burns of Monash University; and Dr Amanda Roan of the University of Queensland. Ms Justine Clark joins the team as a Partner Investigator from industry partner organisation ArchitectureMedia. In addition, a PhD candidate enrolled at the University of Queensland will work on the project, assisted by UQ Research Assistants.

What is the duration of the research project as a whole?

The project will take three years, 2011-2013.

How much of your time will be required if you participate?

In-depth interviews are expected to last between 30 minutes and one hour. Participant Observation will occur over approximately three days.

What will be involved in your participation?

In an *In-Depth Interview*: You will be asked a series of open-ended questions about your knowledge of the factors affecting career progression for women architects, according to your experience or expertise

in the area. The interview will follow a semi-structured format, but the detailed direction will be dictated by your own comments and observations. You do not have to answer any questions that you do not wish to, or give any information that you do not wish to disclose. Your responses will be kept strictly anonymous, unless you specifically wish to be acknowledged for your contribution, in which case you can waive your right to anonymity.

In the *Participant Observation*: the researcher will follow and observe the course of your normal work activities over approximately three days.

Where will the Interviews and Participant Observation take place?

The location of the interviews can be at a place of the participant's choosing, but it is expected this will usually be in the workplace itself. The Participant Observation will take place in the workplace, or wherever you are required to go as part of the normal course of your work days.

Are there any risks to you based on your involvement?

We do not foresee any risks based on involvement in the in-depth interviews or Participant Observation.

Are there any benefits to you based on your involvement?

You will not be paid for your involvement, so there will be no direct benefit, however there will be indirect benefits to the architectural community, and especially to the career progression of women architects.

How will we maintain your confidentiality and privacy, and ensure security of the data once collected and stored?

Actual names will not be attached to audio files or completed transcripts, and files and transcripts will only be available to the project's researchers and used for the purpose of analysis. Participants will be identified through a randomly generated code system that protects your privacy. No identifiable information from the transcripts will be disclosed to anyone outside the immediate research team. Any reports or papers will not contain direct quotes that could enable the comments of individual participants to be identified.

Other important information:

- Participation in the project is voluntary, you may withdraw at any time without prejudice
- If you choose to not answer any interview questions, your wishes will be respected. If you choose to withdraw your responses, or any part of them, at any time, this too will be respected and complied with.
- If you do choose to withdraw, the digital file and any transcript of your interview and / or any notes from Participant Observation will be destroyed, and not used in the final research project in any way.
- Your interview responses will be kept strictly confidential and anonymous, unless you specifically wish to be acknowledged for your contribution, in which case you can waive your right to anonymity.
- The information you give will be used only for the purposes of the research.
- If you have any further questions about your involvement in the project at any stage, or if you would like to give feedback on your involvement in the project, please feel free to contact the lead researcher Dr Naomi Stead, on ph. 07 3365 3920, or email n.stead@uq.edu.au
- If you would like to receive a copy of any publications which result from the completed research, please email n.stead@uq.edu.au

Human Ethics Approval from the University of Queensland

This study has been cleared by one of the human ethics committees of the University of Queensland in accordance with the National Health and Medical Research Council's guidelines. You are, of course, free to discuss your participation in this study with project staff (contactable on 07 3365 3920, or email n.stead@uq.edu.au). If you would like to speak to an officer of the University not involved in the study, you may contact the Ethics Officer on 07 3365 3924.

We sincerely thank you for your participation. Please keep a copy of this information sheet for your information in the future.

Consent Sheet for Participants



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University of Queensland Research Project: 'Equity and Diversity in the Australian
Architecture Profession: Women, Work and Leadership'

Participant Consent Form - In-Depth Interviews and Participant Observation

Your completion of this consent form is indication of your acceptance to participate in the research project being undertaken by the University of Queensland (UQ).

Name.....

Address.....

Phone/s..... Email.....

- I have read the Participant Information Sheet on In-Depth Interviews and Participant Observation, and on the general project, and understand how it will be carried out.
- I consent to being a participant in the research project 'Equity and Diversity in the Australian Architecture Profession: Women, Work and Leadership,' being conducted by a team of researchers led by Dr Naomi Stead, Research Fellow in the School of Architecture at the University of Queensland
- I understand that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without penalty.
- I understand my identity will be confidential, it will not be revealed at any time in the results of the research.
- I understand that if I choose I can be acknowledged for my contribution to the project by waiving my confidentiality rights below.
- I understand that there will be no financial benefit from participation in the project.
- I understand that I will be consulted through the life of the project about how it is conducted.

Confidentiality or acknowledgement

Please tick only one box.

- I would like my identity kept confidential ☐
- I would like to be acknowledged for my contribution by name ☐

You can change your mind about confidentiality or acknowledgement by letting the researcher know.

ALL PARTICIPANTS COMPLETE THIS SECTION	
Participant's Full Name	Witness Name
Signature	Witness Signature
Date	Date